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Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-243
Monday
19 December 1988

Daily Report
East Europe

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International Mideast Conference Held in Prague

LD0912001288 Prague International Service in English 1900 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Turning now to the domestic scene—a model international conference on the Middle East ended in Prague today. We asked some of its participants to assess the conference and the possibility of a settlement of the Middle East crisis. First we give the floor to Khalid al-Hasan, head of the Foreign Committee of the Palestine National Council:

[Begin Al-Hasan recording in Arabic fading into English translation] The idea to organize this conference was doubtlessly an enterprising and constructive one. The discussed issues were (?vitally) important, especially the question of peace. We have to appreciate that the discussion was marked by openness, sincerity, and goodwill. Everyone could see that there is a great longing for peace. I think that in this respect, the conference was successful. [end recording]

The Palestinian representative further went on to say that the main task at present is to bolster the endeavor for holding an effective international conference on the Middle East to achieve peace as soon as possible. He added the following:

[Begin Al-Hasan recording in Arabic fading into English translation] The main impediment on the road to a lasting and just peace in the Middle East is the foreign policy of the United States, and the refusal of the Israelis to enter into talks. Furthermore, Israel has so far rejected the recent resolution adopted by the Palestine National Council. It proves that Tel Aviv is opposed to peace. It is opposed to talks and refuses to acknowledge the existence of the PLO and the right of the Palestinian people to sovereignty. Basically, the United States has the same attitude toward the Palestinian people. Therefore it is most important now to influence the United States to have a more reasonable approach to the question of an international conference on the Middle East. [end recording]

Here's how Retired General Mordekhay Bar-On, head of the Israeli delegation, assesses the model international conference on the Middle East:

[Announcer] The significance of the conference must not be overrated. This issue has to be discussed by governments and not by well-meaning individuals. Despite this, I think that the conference has pointed out the basic problems. It made it clear that the international public has to push governments to do something. Another positive factor were some very remarkable ideas introduced at the conference. I think that the Egyptians came forth with very good initiatives, and there were useful elements also in the speeches of the Palestinians.

What conclusions has the Israeli delegation drawn from the conference? That was another question a Radio Prague reporter put to Mordekhay Bar-On:

[Announcer] As far as I and my colleagues from Israel are concerned, immediately after our return home we have to acquaint the public with the fact that peace can be achieved. This will strengthen our efforts to make Israel negotiate with the Palestinians and reach a compromise. I believe that it is the turn of the Israeli Government now to make the necessary steps for talks. Such a step would not be at loggerheads with the plans for holding an international conference on the Middle East. We are well aware of the necessity to organize such a conference, said Mordekhay Bar-On from Israel.

Husak Sends Greeting

AU1512122188 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 Dec 88 p 1

["Gustav Husak's Message to the Participants in the Conference"]

[Text] CSSR President Gustav Husak has sent a greetings message to the participants in the Model International Conference on the Middle East. The message states:

Esteemed friends; I cordially greet you, the participants in the Model International Conference on the Middle East, and wish you much success in your deliberations.

The Czechoslovak public highly values your meeting, which is motivated by the effort to help find a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Our people appreciate the fact that you share the feeling of joint responsibility for the developments in the contemporary world, in which peace, freedom, and the security of nations are indivisible.

Czechoslovak foreign policy proceeds from the fact that current world problems must be resolved by talks between all parties concerned on the basis of mutual respect for legitimate rights and the balance of interests. The Czechoslovak proposal to establish a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO also corresponds to this. We believe that such an approach to coexistence between neighbors not only in Europe, but in all other parts of the world, is highly topical, and could help to resolve the existing conflict situations.

A peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict, with the Palestinian issue as its crucial point, has become an urgent task of the entire international community. The latest developments in that area, characterized by the growth in tension and the massing of weapons, confirms that the settlement of this crisis cannot be delayed without the risk of unpredictable consequences. The positive aspect is that most states realize this and that there are ever more resolute voices calling for a conference on the Middle East under UN auspices. Czechoslovakia fully supports this endeavor. It has also welcomed the constructive proposals adopted at the recent session of the Palestine National Council in Algiers.

I am convinced that the results of your deliberations will also contribute to the finding of solutions and will push through a realistic line for solving the problems of the Middle East, which have tragically affected the entire modern history of the nations in this region. In this way, they will also become an important impetus for achieving this difficult objective.

Delegates Address UN on Middle East in Geneva

Popov Makes Statement

AU1612075488 Sofia BTA in English
2207 GMT 15 Dec 88

["Bulgarian Standpoint on the Palestinian Issue"—BTA headline]

[Text] Geneva, December 15 (BTA)—Mr Lyubomir Popov, deputy foreign affairs minister and representative of Bulgaria at the UN General Assembly session, which is continuing in this city and at which the Palestinian issue is being discussed, made a statement.

Over the last years a broad international concord was reached regarding the principles and mechanisms for settling of the Palestinian issue. Of particular significance in this respect were the constructive, realistic and moderate approach observed in the declaration of the Palestine National Council from November 15 of the present year, confirmed by the Stockholm declaration from December 7 and yesterday's speech of Mr Yasir 'Arafat, Mr Lyubomir Popov said.

The proclamation of the Palestinian state, which Bulgaria officially recognized, and the other resolutions of the session of the Palestine National Council strengthen the conviction in the possibility to settle in the near future the Middle East issue. In this relation the U.N. has an important role, as it has proved its ability to interfere successfully in the regulation of international conflicts. The Bulgarian representative backed the new Palestine initiative outlined yesterday in Mr Yasir 'Arafat's speech before the UN General Assembly and appealed for Israel to join the peace process.

In conclusion Mr Lyubomir Popov said that the best way to solve the issue is to convene an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of the five permanent members of the Security Council and all interested states, including the newly founded state of Palestine.

Pitarka Gives Speech

AU0712141888 Tirana ATA in English
0925 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Tirana, December 7 (ATA)—On December 5, in the debate on "The Situation in the Middle East" being held at the UN General Assembly, the floor was taken by the permanent representative of the PSR of Albania to the UNO, Bashkim Pitarka, who said among others:

The Middle East problem cannot be seen and judged detached from the actual international developments and that Palestinian question has been in the center of the Middle East crisis for more than four decades. A whole people are subjected to a systematic policy and activity of genocide which aims at their physical elimination, as well as to deprive the brave Palestinian people of the right to have their own homeland. An important aspect of the Middle East crisis is the Arab-Israeli conflict, which is manifested in the Israeli frequent aggressions against the Arab countries, something which has led to the occupation of whole Arab territories by Israel. In this context should be considered the Lebanon crisis as well.

The Middle East situation keeps aggravating, at a time when the rivalry and cooperation between the two superpowers, the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union are intensifying, further complicating it, the Albanian representative underscored. For years, they, each on its own account, hatch up plans for the so-called solution of the Middle East problem. The struggle of the Arab peoples and first and foremost the mass revolt of the Palestinian population in the occupied territories, he stressed, are those that turn down and make the interimperialist consecus [as received] "neither war nor peace" worthless, it is the determination of the martyred Palestinian people to realize their national rights and the support the other Arab peoples, give to this struggle as well as the whole world public opinion that make the superpowers take into consideration the Palestinian factor as fundamental in solving the Middle East problem. [sentence as received]

The Albanian delegation, he continued, is of the opinion that no conference or forum can bring anything valuable, the less so solve the problem of the Middle East outside the solution of the key problem, the Palestinian one and without the representation with full and equal rights of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. In this framework the superpowers must not be permitted to use the UNO as a cover to camouflage and justify their intrigues and imperialist plans. In conclusion, the Albanian representative emphasized that the PSR of Albania and the Albanian people will unreservedly support the just struggle of the Palestinian people and the other Arab peoples to put an end to the imperialist - Zionist aggression and the occupation of the Arab territories. Consistent in its stand in support of the just cause of the

Palestinian people to have their state, the Government of the PSR of Albania recognised the Palestinian independent state proclaimed by the Palestinian National Council.

Malile Delivers Address

AU1412100288 Tirana ATA in English
0730 GMT 14 Dec 88

["No Solution of the Palestinian Question and of the Middle East Crisis Can Be Reached Against the Will of the Palestinian People—Albania Has Recognised the Creation of the Palestinian State—From the Speech of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Comrade Reis Malile, at the UN General Assembly on Palestine's Question"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, December 14 (ATA)—On December 13, in Geneva at the UN General Assembly on Palestine's question, the floor was also taken by Comrade Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the PSR of Albania, who said among others:

At the time when it was expected that the General Assembly be engaged in a constructive debate which would broaden the perspective to the solution of the Palestinian question and that of the Middle East on the whole, it found itself in front of the unjust stand of the United States of America, that contrary to the obligations that follow from the agreement they have concluded with the UNO, as well as from the interests of peace itself, did not allow the legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people to go to New York to speak before this assembly. Rightfully, the General Assembly opposed this arbitrary action and decided almost unanimously to transfer its proceedings from New York to Geneva, unique occasion in the history of the United Nations. This stand is a clear testimony to the support the brave Palestinian people enjoy and to the serious preoccupation of the international community to find a just solution to this important problem for the destinies of a people and peace.

For more than 4 decades, the UNO has been engaged continuously in the Palestinian question, in the General Assembly, Security Council, and in other organisms. In the conducted debates, there has been powerfully expressed the legitimate preoccupation of the member-countries for the continuation of the tragic drama and sufferings of the Palestinian people, of the injustices made to them and of the indispensability to remedy this injustice.

The Middle East crisis which is going on for approximately half a century has shown that this region of great strategic importance and rich in oil-bearing reserves, has become an arena where the interests of the superpowers, the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, to ensure their presence, intermingle and clash. These circumstances as well as Israel's expansionist policy against the Arab countries have made this region face almost cyclic aggressions and prolonged conflicts, which have brought about incalculable miseries and destructions to the countries and peoples of the region.

The Palestinian problem, Comrade Reis Malile said further on, is a constituent part of the Middle East crisis, where its prolonged spectre has more than once endangered international peace and security. This crisis has been kept alive by the entirely anti-Palestinian and anti-Arab policy of imperialism and Israel, that through aggressions has time and again occupied Arab territories and has expelled from their territories a whole people of a culture and civilisation that has deep roots in this region, like the Palestinian people, forcing them to make the life of refugees. Despite the great sacrifices and privations, the brave Palestinian people did never subdue. They have continued the resolute struggle and efforts for their just cause.

Lively testimony to this growing resistance is the broad massive people's uprising on the Palestinian occupied territories, where the generation which was born and bred in the conditions of occupation is facing with unequalled heroism the military machine of the invader. In this just struggle they have enjoyed the powerful support of the fraternal Arab peoples and of the entire peoples of the world.

During the recent decades, the rivalry and the interference of the superpowers, the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union on the region, has had a very negative effect with grave consequences in the deepening of the Middle East crisis. The interimperialist consensus, concrete expression of which is also the "no war no peace" situation, has resulted in keeping alive the reasons and consequences of this crisis.

The opponents to the solution of the Middle East crisis have not failed to present time and again most diversified plans which in the final analysis have aimed at liquidating the Palestinian question.

The so-called policy of the "secured borders" which has been trumpeted by Israel is a well-known tactic aiming at negating to the Palestinian people their homeland and perpetuate the occupation of the Arab territories.

These dangerous plans have been turned down by the Palestinian people, who with an admirable determination continue the struggle and attempts for the realisation of their national aspirations. It is this struggle and these efforts that have made the Palestinian factor be counted as fundamental in the solution of the Middle East question. No conference or forum of any kind can bring about any useful result leaving aside the solution of the Palestinian question. No solution of the Palestinian question and of the Middle East crisis can be reached against the expressed will of the Palestinian people, or without taking into consideration this will.

The prolonged and heroic struggle of the Palestinian people the revolt of the broad people's masses in Cisjordan and Gaza as well as the developments in the Middle East region itself, have created a new situation, which puts forward as an immediate task the final solution of the Palestinian problem. Under these circumstances, only a few days ago, the Palestinian National Council proclaimed the creation of the Palestinian state.

The PSR of Albania, he pointed out, has always powerfully supported the just cause of the Palestinian people for freedom and self-determination against the Israeli-imperialist aggression and their right to have their independent state. It hailed and recognised the Palestinian state. This historic decision of the Palestinian National Council responds to the aspirations and legitimate rights of the brave Palestinian people. At the same time it contributes also to the solution of the conflicts in the Middle East and peace and security in the region.

The fact that this state was hailed and recognized by many countries of the world speaks of the resolute support of the international community for the just cause of the Palestinian people.

The interests of peace and security demand that the Palestinian problem, the situation in Lebanon and the Middle East question on the whole be judged with political realism and in the context of the present-day international developments. Recently, few steps have been made towards detente and in particular towards the wiping out of several regional conflicts such as the Iraq-Iran one. Such steps have been hailed by the international public opinion, which would desire sincerely that positive developments in favour of peace happen in the Middle East too.

In treating this problem it is indispensable to take into consideration first and foremost the interests of the Palestinian people and of the other Arab peoples who have been victims of aggression, therefore a stable solution might come out only from the countries of the region which are directly interested in its peace and security. Every attempt to leave this problem in the hands of the superpowers comprises the danger that they see merely their interests, in the framework of their global policy, and, as the hitherto experience has proved, the conflict remains open.

The Palestinian people, Comrade Reis Malile said in conclusion, has the right to live free and independent. History has already proved, and from it we cannot but draw lessons that a people who are determined to fight for freedom and for their national rights can never be subdued and eliminated through violence and terror.

Hence, the discussion of this problem in the General Assembly, according to the opinion of the Albanian delegation, should aim first and foremost at powerfully supporting the Palestinian people, their right for self-determination, the recognition of their state, the withdrawal of Israel's troops from the occupied Arab territories. These are the basic premises to usher this problem on the road of the solution and for securing peace in that region.

Balkan Economic Experts Meet in Ankara

AU1412125688 Tirana ATA in English
0945 GMT 14 Dec 88

[Text] Tirana, December 14 (ATA)— In the context of the preparations for the meeting of the ministers of economy or foreign trade of the Balkan countries, to be held in the first quarter of 1989, the preparatory meeting in experts' level began in Ankara on December 13. It will discuss the agenda and other problems to be treated of in the meeting.

Attending the meeting is also a delegation from our country, led by the vice chairman of the State Planning Commission, Gani Cemo.

Marxist, Christian Journalists Gather in Prague

AU1412182388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
12 Dec 88 p 3

[CTK report: "Meeting of Journalists"]

[Text] Prague—The first "roundtable" meeting ever to take place between secular and church journalists in Europe concluded on Sunday [1 December] in Prague. During the 3-day meeting up to 60 journalists from 17 countries and from West Berlin discussed the possibilities of Marxist and Christian journalists cooperating in finding the solution of the most serious issues of common interest on the European continent.

The meeting was prepared by the International Journalists Union [MON] and the Ecumenical Information Group in Europe. The participants in the meeting welcomed the occasion as an opportunity to discover new stands on mutual understanding. At the meeting they stated that the secular and church journalists share many common values, and feel the same responsibility toward their peoples and toward the people of Europe. That is why it is their task to contribute toward normalizing the atmosphere in our common European home. The "roundtable" of European journalists in Prague has led to the establishment of a steering committee, which is to prepare the theme and venue of the next meeting, which should be held next year.

The participants in the meeting also expressed their commiseration to the USSR Journalists Union in connection with the tragic consequences of the severe earthquake in the Soviet Transcaucasian Republics.

General Semerdzhiev Speaks on Soviet Initiatives
AU1612175588 Sofia BTA in English 1732 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] Sofia, December 16 (BTA)—Commenting on the latest Soviet peace initiatives in an interview with the "SOFIA NEWS" weekly, Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army and first deputy minister of national defence, describes the Soviet Union's decision to reduce unilaterally its armed forces, announced by Mr Mikhail Gorbachev in his U.N. speech, as "a most eloquent proof of the Soviet Union's love of peace, of the political will and extraordinary boldness of its party and state leadership." He expresses the conviction that the Soviet decision creates the "possibly most favourable conditions" for progress at the disarmament talks in Europe.

Asked whether Bulgaria will take any similar measures, Colonel General Semerdzhiev says that this country "fully recognizes the realities which have emerged as a result of World War II and has no territorial designs, that the Bulgarian people does not regard as an enemy any of its neighbours." The Bulgarian military chief emphasizes that "this is precisely what underlies the purely defensive orientation of the development of the Bulgarian People's Army, which finds expression in its limited numerical strength, in its organisational structure and combat training."

The chief of the General Staff expresses the hope that "the assertion of the principles of goodneighbourliness and cooperation" between Bulgaria and the adjacent NATO member states "will create prerequisites for further steps in this direction" (of disarmament). "Certainly, disarmament is a two-way street, and our moves will largely depend on the behaviour of the other side," Colonel General Semerdzhiev points out in his interview.

Balev Meets MPLA Delegation 8 Dec
AU1212174988 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Dec 88 p 6

[BTA report: "At the BCP Central Committee"]

[Text] Milko Balev, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, received a delegation of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA]—Labor Party High School, headed by Zeferino Estevao Juliana, member of the MPLA-Labor Party Central Committee and rector of the school. The delegation is visiting our country at the invitation of the BCP Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and Social Management.

Comrade Milko Balev briefed the guests on the fundamental changes taking place in all sectors of our country's life in connection with implementing the July Concept of the BCP. He talked about the main trends of our country's foreign policy, which is aimed at building a civilized international order, excluding wars and violence as a means of settling interstate controversies.

The support of the BCP and Bulgaria for the just cause of independent Angola was expressed during the talks, and confidence was expressed that the quadripartite negotiations on the problems of southwest Africa will be successfully concluded.

Comrade Zeferino Estevao Juliana described the activities of the MPLA-Labor Party in ensuring a guaranteed peace for Angola, for the independence of Namibia, and focused on the Angolan people's efforts in further promoting the country's socioeconomic development. The guest expressed his positive evaluations of the results achieved in Bulgaria in connection with restructuring. He stated that the experience of the BCP Academy of Social Sciences and Social Management will be useful for the newly established party high school in his country regarding the training of cadres and the development of important scientific research problems.

The two sides expressed their mutual readiness to expand the cooperation between the BCP and the MPLA-Labor Party, particularly in regard to cooperation between their scientific and educational institutions.

The meeting was attended by Stanish Bonev, member of the BCP Central Committee and rector of the Academy of Social Sciences and Social Management.

Atanasov Greets Balkan Ecological Meeting
AU0912185088 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Dec 88 p 2

[Greetings Message from Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, to the Second Balkan Ecology Meeting, read by Nikolay Dyulgerov, chairman of the Council of Ministers Committee for Protection of the Environment, at the opening of the meeting on 6 December in Pravets]

[Text] Nikolay Dyulgerov, chairman of the Council of Ministers' Committee for Protection of the Environment, who was elected chairman of the meeting by the delegates to the Second Balkan Ecology Conference, read the following greeting message from Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers:

I have the pleasure of greeting you on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria as delegates to the Second Balkan Ecological meeting and to wish you successful work.

In a spirit of cooperation and good-neighborly relations you are exchanging information on the ecological state of your countries and on national programs in this area, on the methods and opportunities of a fruitful cooperation.

I would like to point out, in particular, the great importance of the idea launched over two years ago by Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, on signing a treaty on the ecological protection of the Balkan peninsula.

Reality requires us to note that the worldwide ecological situation has drastically deteriorated in recent years, as a result of which people are increasingly concerned. This fact demands that we should join the efforts of national and international organizations and institutions for common measures in solving the aforementioned problems.

We must admit with concern that our beautiful Balkan peninsula, which has contributed to European civilization with numerous humanitarian ideas and is preserving the intellectual legacy of peoples who have decisively influenced universal culture, is also being threatened by an ecological crisis. I will not enumerate the existing ecological problems; however, I would like to stress that prompt actions are required for mastering those factors which exert a negative influence upon the protection and reproduction of natural resources on our peninsula.

The establishment of an ecological protection system for the Balkans is by no means an easy task. It requires systematic and persevering efforts. These efforts are necessary because they concern coordinated measures of sovereign states which have different priority tasks in connection with environmental protection.

I am convinced that under the conditions of a new political thinking and on the basis of the results achieved at the First Balkan Ecology Meeting, it will be possible to find the most correct method of cooperation among our countries.

We attach great importance to the document "Results of the Arms Race for the Environment and Other Aspects of Ecological Security" with which the Warsaw Pact member countries appealed to all other countries in July 1988.

The closing passage of Georgi Atanasov's greetings message reads as follows: The People's Republic of Bulgaria contributes and will further contribute to successful cooperation among states in the ecological sector. Our government devotes special care to environmental protection. This fact was strongly emphasized by the implementation of our country's new ecological policy, which is conducted on a broad social scale in accordance with the processes of restructuring in our entire socioeconomic life.

Gotsev Receives U.S. Congressmen

AU1312192388 Sofia BTA in English
1736 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Sofia, December 13 (BTA)—A group of American congressmen led by Mr Neal Smith chairman of the sub-committee of the U.S. Congress [title as received] who are on a working visit to Sofia, met with Mr Lyuben Gotsev, deputy minister of the foreign affairs. They exchanged opinions on the development of Bulgaro-American relations in the spirit of the general improvement of the relations East-West. The guests showed interest in the processes of restructuring in Bulgaria.

National Assembly Permanent Commissions Meet

AU1212180788 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 9 Dec 88 p 2

[Mitko Bozhkov report: "Prerequisites and Guarantees of Successful Development" on a joint meeting of the National Assembly Permanent Commission on Socioeconomic Development and the Legislative Commission held on 8 December in Sofia]

[Text] The "small parliaments" are steadily advancing toward their goal—after detailed discussion and objective analysis of proportions, rates, structures, and indexes—to establish well-balanced and realistic draft bills on the state plan of the country's socioeconomic development and the 1989 state budget.

Yesterday these important issues were discussed at a joint session of the National Assembly Permanent Commission on Socioeconomic Development and the Legislative Commission with the participation of the leading bodies of other permanent commissions. Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, as well as Yaroslav Radev, chairman of the Legislative Commission, were among those present.

Stoyan Ovcharov, National Assembly deputy and minister of economy and planning, pointed out the following in his statement: All considerations and proposals of the permanent commissions on draft projects were discussed by the government organs. These considerations and proposals are dictated by the concern about accelerating the initiated restructuring process in all spheres of life in our country, and about implementing the July Concept for the purpose of further building socialism in Bulgaria, in order to ensure the prerequisites and guarantees for its successful development. The minister dwelt in detail on the questions raised by the permanent commissions and explained the respective methods and means of consistently applying the new economic policy and of asserting the positive trends which have emerged during the last 3 years of the current Ninth 5-Year Plan period, as well as in connection with overcoming certain difficulties. Regarding certain views and indexes contained in the draft projects, a dispute developed, categorical disagreements were expressed, and certain formulations were strongly rejected, heated arguments were defended.... Opinions were expressed by the National Assembly deputies Boris Spasov, Mikhail Genovski, Pando Vanchev, Ivan Frumov, Georgi Kharizanov, Angel Dimitrov, Angel Bobokov, Vladimir Kalaydzhiev, and by various economic experts who took the floor during the debates.

Numerous questions of principle and of practical approach were accumulated during the debates. The minister of economy and planning had to take the floor again in order to provide additional explanations and to prove why one balance has been preferred over another, as well as to clarify the question for which acute resource problems exist, and which problems should wait longer for their solution because of a lack of material, financial, and cadre possibilities.

The role of the "small parliaments" is steadily increasing. This became evident from the active participation of the commissions in establishing the draft laws for the plan and budget, from the parliamentary control, and from severe requirements, Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Permanent Commission on Socioeconomic Development, pointed out in his statement. It is obvious that such processes should be encouraged and even more widely expanded. Critical remarks and constructive recommendations have been submitted and are a commitment for us to hold another such meeting. The working group, which includes representatives of all permanent commissions and experts from the Ministry of Economy and Planning, will review and once more specify the draft projects, Grisha Filipov added.

Which are the chief, fundamental postulates of these draft projects?

This clearly appears from the draft on a co-report of the permanent commissions expected to be submitted at the forthcoming National Assembly session. Let us cite only a few of these postulates:

The 1989 budget and plan will accelerate the dynamic development of our scientific-technical and socioeconomic development as a whole on the basis of a resource-saving growth and priority application of intensive factors.

The rates of speed in planning are high and intense, but realistic. They are based on the existing opportunities in our economic sphere.

An important characteristic feature of the 1989 budget and plan is their social orientation. Economic development, to an even greater extent, is subjected to the growing needs of the people and to the goals of social policy, as well as to the requirement of transforming the economy into a powerful factor for the expansion of the people's creative spirit and initiative.

Or to put it succinctly, the current draft laws represent constitutional guarantees for the further qualitative transformation of socialism in our country.

National Assembly Session Ends 16 Dec

AU1612123188 Sofia BTA in English
1204 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] Sofia, December 16 (BTA)—During the second day of the session of the National Assembly were discussed the bills for techno-scientific and socioeconomic development of this country and the state budget for 1989.

The M.P.'s pointed out that the bills secure the realization of the BCP course for qualitatively new growth in all spheres of social life. They embody the strategy for deep structural and technological innovation, for development of the production forces, for priority development of electronics, biochemistry, modern mechanical engineering, agriculture.

The speeches stressed the innovative character of the bills, a result of the ever consolidating new approach in planning, of the dialogue between the self-governing organizations, between the enterprises and the state bodies.

Special attention was paid to the social orientation of the bills. Highly was assessed the fact that for the first time the rates of the production of consumer goods are envisaged to outpace the rates of the production of means of production. The outlined measures for gradual liquidation of the defficiency of certain products were also assessed highly. High growth of the production of goods for the home market is also envisaged—12 per cent. The expenses for health care and social security will grow by 11.2 per cent, for science—by 17.2 per cent, for education—by 27 per cent.

The M.P.'s stressed the favourable conditions for more active participation of this country in the socialist economic integration, in the international division of labour.

The bills were unanimously approved. (The laws are transmitted separately).

Declaration on Human Rights

AU1612140088 Sofia BTA in English
1219 GMT 16 Dec 88

["Declaration of the National Assembly"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 16 (BTA)—The Bulgarian parliament adopted today a declaration in relation with the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights.

The declaration says that Bulgaria will keep closely to the principles of the Universal Declaration and will exercise control and follow the observation of the adopted international pacts on human rights and the other international agreements in the sphere of human rights of which Bulgaria is a party.

With its legislative and control activities the country would create conditions for the further participation of the citizens in the solution of all issues of the state policy and of public life through the development of the various forms of direct democracy.

It is confirmed that the broadening of the civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, as well as the strengthening of the material and legal guarantees for their protection is a primary duty of the Bulgarian parliament.

The declaration expresses the resoluteness of the National Assembly to strengthen and broaden the principles of democracy and socialist pluralism, taking into account the interests of all social groups—a paramount condition for the free development of the creative potential of the citizens of the socialist society.

The parliament will enhance and improve its activity for bringing of the national legislation into complete compliance with the international obligations and standards in the sphere of human rights. It will work for the active participation of Bulgaria in international cooperation in the sphere of human rights, carried out through the U.N., the other international organizations, including the Interparliamentary Union and the work in the framework of the Helsinki process, reads the declaration.

State Budget Approved

AU1712180088 Sofia BTA in English
1433 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Sofia, December 17 (BTA)—At yesterday's session of the National Assembly, the MP's passed a Law on Bulgaria's national budget for 1989. According to this law, the budget revenues amount to 24,287.8 million leva, and expenditures to 24,286.3 million leva.

11,547.5 million leva will go into the development of the economy, and 8,550.2 million leva have been outlayed on science, culture, education, medical services and social welfare.

The amount planned for maintenance of the bodies of state power, the government departments, the courts, the Prosecutor's Office, the regional and municipal councils totals 437.4 million leva.

The M.P's approved the report on the fulfillment of the state budget for 1987.

State Plan Approved

AU1712185588 Sofia BTA in English
1316 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Sofia, December 17 (BTA)—The Bulgarian members of parliament voted yesterday at a session of the National Assembly a law on the state plan for the country's techno-scientific and socioeconomic development next year.

Compared to 1988, the gross national product is to increase by at least 6.5 percent, the national income by 6.2 percent and social labour productivity by 6.4 percent, which is to ensure the entire growth in the national income, and the agricultural production by at least 8.9 percent.

Foreign trade is to develop dynamically and the integration processes with the USSR and the other socialist countries are to deepen, while industrial and technological cooperation with the non-socialist countries is to expand.

The outlined rates and proportions of the country's development would be reached through a new approach in the development of the productive forces in compliance with the requirements of the new historical situation in the world through acceleration of the process of restructuring and [words indistinct] renovation which has started, priority in their development will be assigned to electronics, the biotechnological and chemical industry, the modern advanced subbranches of machine building, the consumer-goods industry and the agro-industrial complex.

The social orientation of the economy will increase. Compared to this year the real incomes of the population are to increase by at least 4.0 percent during the next year and the per capita social consumption funds by 7.6 percent. Measures to solve ecological problems have also been mapped out.

CPCZ Central Committee Session Detailed

Changes Reviewed

LD1612175388 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] The 12th session of the CPCZ Central Committee continued at Prague Castle today with a further debate on the opening speech made by Comrade Milos Jakes and on the report delivered by Comrade Ladislav Adamec.

Comrade Frantisek Poukar spoke about the progress being made in the construction of the nuclear power plant at Temelin, whose first unit is to be placed on trial operation in 1992. By making it possible to gradually reduce electricity generation from conventional fuels and energy sources, nuclear powerplants also make a contribution toward improving the environment.

In connection with the preparation of the 18th CPCZ Congress, Comrade Stanislav Kubik singled out the need for a factual analysis of social development to date over a longer period of time. The recognition of the causes for our failure to fully carry out certain economic and social plans will enable us to avoid erroneous or incorrect decisions in the future. He also recommended that the preparation of long-term measures in connection with the restructuring of the economic mechanism should proceed from critical analyses.

The final part of the proceedings of the CPCZ Central Committee was chaired by Jan Fojtik, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium.

Comrade Vladimir Kocandrle devoted attention in his speech to the population's state of health and health care. To redress the current unfavorable trend in the population's health it is necessary to achieve basic changes in people's lifestyle by promoting healthy eating and improving the quality of the environment. He praised the system of lifelong specialist training for doctors in our country.

Comrade Bohuslav Chnoupek spoke about various aspects of restructuring and democratization in our society. He said that our restructuring is part of a broad international social process and stressed the need for the party to maintain its unity and capability to take action.

Comrade Jaroslav Hajek spoke about the persisting difficulties in the manufacture of the Skoda Favorit cars. Although workers and technicians at the automobile works national enterprise at Mlada Boleslav successfully coped with the initial stages of the production, manufacturing was impeded by the failure by certain subcontractors to meet their supply obligations. He demanded that this state of affairs be rectified. The work collective of the automobile works must also make a contribution to this by analyzing their own share in the current shortcomings.

Comrade Wilibald Lukas reported on the switch made by the North Moravian timber works in Sumperk to self-financing. He expressed his view about the restructuring of the production base in this sector and on preparations to set up a state enterprise. The party committee emphasized the explanation of the principles governing the restructuring of the economic mechanism and on winning over working people for the fulfillment of their objectives.

Comrade Zuzana Korinkova concentrated on experiences from the experimental testing of the principles governing the new economic mechanism in the state enterprise of Jablonecka Bizuterie. She said that the work there, in accordance with the new rules, is proving itself. An important task the enterprise must tackle now is to bring financial autonomy down to the conditions of working teams.

A total of 32 comrades spoke in the debate. As on the 1st day of the Central Committee proceedings, those who spoke in the debate today also expressed their full support for the proposal to convene the 18th CPCZ Congress and for the tasks for its preparation, as well as for other proposals submitted in the opening speech by Comrade Milos Jakes and in the report by Comrade Ladislav Adamec.

In line with the new procedural order some participants took advantage of the opportunity to express their factual comments during the debate. The Central Committee decided that the speeches of those who took part in the debate at the 12th CPCZ Central Committee session will be published in an authorized text in the coming days in RUDE PRAVO, PRAVDA, and UJ SZO.

The CPCZ Central Committee discussed certain cadre proposals and cast their decision on them in a secret ballot. It released Comrade Vasil Bilak at his own request from the post of member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, member of the Central Committee Secretariat, and chairman of the Central Committee Standing Commission for Foreign Relations.

It released Comrade Josef Kempny at his own request from the post of member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium.

It released Comrade Mikulas Beno from the post of secretary and member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat.

It elected Comrade Jozef Lenart member and chairman of the CPCZ Central Committee Standing Commission for Foreign Relations. It also released him from the post of member and chairman of the Central Committee Standing Commission for the Creation and Protection of the Environment.

It elected Comrade Frantisek Hanus a member and chairman of the Central Committee Standing Commission for the Creation and Protection of the Environment.

The CPCZ Central Committee unanimously approved the following:

1. the assessment of the party's activity since the 10th Central Committee session and the explanation of the proposal to convene the 18th CPCZ Congress and the tasks in preparing for it delivered by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the party Central Committee;

2. the Central Committee resolution to convene the 18th CPCZ Congress;

3. the Central Committee resolution on the report by Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec on the tasks of communists in ensuring fulfillment of next year's plan and on progress in restructuring the economic mechanism;

4. the stance adopted by the CPCZ Central Committee on the new initiatives delivered at the 43d UN General Assembly by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium;

5. the statement by the CPCZ Central Committee on the consequences of the earthquake in the Armenian SSR;

6. the report on the activity of the Presidium, Secretariat, and commissions of the party Central Committee in the period since the 10th Central Committee session in October;

7. the cadre order [poradek] of the CPCZ Central committee and of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR;

8. the CPCZ's budget for next year.

The party Central Committee has acknowledged:

1. the resolution by the Central Committee Presidium on the annual membership meetings of the party primary organizations, on the plenary meetings, and on party conferences prior to the 18th CPCZ Congress;

2. the time frame and working commissions for preparing the 18th party congress;

3. the political and organizational arrangements for implementing the conclusions of the 12th CPCZ Central Committee session.

Session Ends; Jakes Speaks

LD1612185188 Prague CTK in English
1700 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] Prague Dec 16 (CTK)—The two-day 12th session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee ended here today with the approval of documents and a final address by party General Secretary Milos Jakes.

Milos Jakes said inter alia that in its policy of restructuring and democratization Czechoslovakia uses to the full the experiences of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, applying them to its conditions. In this context, he stressed that as regards the attitude towards the restructuring process, it is not words but deeds, the consistent fulfilment of the adopted resolutions, that are decisive.

By adopting a resolution on convening the 18th party congress, the party and society enter an extremely important period in which efforts must focus on fulfilling tasks of the economic plan, and on overcoming problems in the socio- economic sphere, particularly on the home market. Everything must be done to carry on the process of economic and social restructuring and of deepening socialist democracy. Conditions must be created for implementing the new economic mechanism from January 1, 1990, he stressed.

An important task will be the preparation of the basic congress documents, the party general secretary added.

In another part of his address, Milos Jakes stressed Czechoslovakia's resolve to do its best for the coming year to be a year of peace and further easing of international tension. An expression of its readiness to solve global problems of mankind is the Czechoslovak Government's initiative for intensifying European cooperation in the solution of ecological questions, presented by Premier Ladislav Adamec at this session, which is fully supported by the party Central Committee, the Czechoslovak Communist Party general secretary said.

Jakes Report Approved

LD1612200488 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1730 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] The CPCZ Central Committee unanimously approved:

The assessment of the party's activity since the 10th session of the party Central Committee, the explanation of the proposal to convene the 18th party congress, and the tasks in preparing for it delivered by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee General Secretary.

It also approved the resolution of the party Central Committee to convene the 18th party congress, which states:

The CPCZ Central Committee resolves to convene the 18th CPCZ Congress on 10 May 1990 with the following agenda:

1. [only figure received] The CPCZ Central Committee report on the party activity and the development of society since the 17th party congress and other tasks in realizing the strategic line of the acceleration of economic and social development, restructuring and the deepening of socialist democracy. Other points on the agenda will be:

the report of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission

the report on the main directions of the economic and social development of Czechoslovakia for the years 1991-1995

the approval of the statues of the party and other congress documents

the election of the party Central Committee and the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission.

The CPCZ Central Committee designates that for every 1,000 party members, one delegate with a full vote shall be elected, and for every 5,000 candidate members, one nonvoting delegate shall be elected.

Gorbachev Initiative Approved

LD1612211988 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] The CPCZ Central Committee approved a statement on the new initiatives delivered at the 43d UN General Assembly by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The CPCZ Central Committee highly values the new Soviet initiatives. It sees them as a comprehensive program for strengthening the political dialogue at a time when mankind is supporting with great hopes the proces of further improving the international situation, particularly in Europe. It is a program which shows specific ways of tackling the most complicated international problems and contributes to a new quality of international relations and to a system of coexistence respecting the difference of interests of states and nations, and is based on the priority of humanitarian values. In its orientation, it opens up a broad scope and possibilities for developing all- round international cooperation in the political, economic, scientific and technical, security, disarmament, environmental, and humanitarian spheres. The CSSR will continue to take an active part in this program through its initiatives and concrete steps.

The CPCZ Central Committee values and supports the Soviet Union's decision to reduce its Armed Forces and conventional weapons, including the withdrawal of some of its tank troops from the territories of the CSSR, the GDR, and Hungary. This is evidence of the readiness of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to consistently implement the defensive doctrine of the Warsaw Pact countries. We express the conviction that this gesture of goodwill will receive a positive response from the NATO countries, and that it will be a significant impetus to the process of European disarmament, stresses the CPCZ Central Committee's statement on the new initiatives delivered at the 43d UN General Assembly by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev.

Statement on Quake Approved

LD1612215988 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] The CPCZ Central Committee adopted a statement on the consequences of the earthquake in Armenia.

It states that the party Central Committee expresses deep condolences to the party and state leadership of the Soviet Union and all Soviet people about the misfortune which has stricken the Armenian SSR. Together with our people, the Central Committee shares great sorrow over the loss of human lives. We appreciate the highly humanitarian, internationalist attitude of our citizens, who have spontaneously contributed toward saving human lives in the most precious possible way: the gift of their own blood. With material and financial aid, they are trying to help overcome the difficult consequences of the earthquake.

The CPCZ Central Committee also approved a report on the activities of the Presidium, Secretariat, and commissions of the party Central Committee in the period since its 10th session in September of this year, the cadre order of the party's Central Committee and the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR, and the CPCZ 1989 budget.

The CPCZ Central Committee noted the resolution of the Presidium of the party's Central Committee on the annual members meetings of primary organizations of the party, the all-plenary meetings and party conferences prior to the party's 18th congress, the timetable and working commissions for the preparation of the 18th party congress, and the political organizational securing of the conclusions of the CPCZ Central Committee's 12th session.

Resolution on Adamec Report

LD1612220388 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] [Announcer] I will now acquaint you with the content of the resolution of the 12th CPCZ Central Committee session on the report by Comrade Ladislav Adamec on the tasks of communists to secure the plan for next year, and on the progress of the restructuring of the economic mechanism.

It states that the further growth of the country's economic potential and an improvement in the development of some areas of the economy is due to increased activity by the majority of work collectives. In principle there is success in realizing the program of the party's social policy. Personal consumption is developing in harmony with the 5-year plan, and its growth in the past 3 years is higher than during the entire Seventh 5-Year Plan.

However, despite undoubtedly positive factors, serious shortcomings remain in the growth of the economy which manifest themselves in the lower rate of national income, and limit our possibilities in the division and use of resources. Poor export performance and a reduction in the efficiency of foreign trade leads to the deepening of unfavorable tendencies in external economic relations. Development programs and structural changes in the processing sectors are being insufficiently fulfilled.

The results of the agriculture and food complex are creating conditions for consistent supplies of basic foodstuffs to the market. However, high material, energy, and investment costs of finished products and considerable losses in harvesting and processing remain.

The development of living standards is being secured by making use of reserves, reductions in investment, and greater use of external resources. House construction tasks of the plan are not being fulfilled.

As the resolution on the report by Comrade Ladislav Adamec continues, work on the restructuring of the economic mechanism is, in principle, in harmony with the resolution of the Seventh CPCZ Central Committee Session. By implementing higher independence of enterprises, democratization, and increasing responsibility for the results of management, it places greater demands on party work, its importance in explaining and implementing the new conditions, and in consistently overcoming outdated methods of management. The role and responsibility of central organs in creating and working out a comprehensive state plan is qualitatively new.

The restructuring of the economic mechanism also brings with it a number of tasks. One of the most serious is placing the intersts of groups above the interests of society, the insufficient training and involvement of cadres, and in some cases, weak mutual dovetailing of the measures adopted.

The CPCZ Central Committee supports the approach of the federal government as expressed in its policy statement, and in the report of Premier Ladislav Adamec delivered at the 12th Central Committee session. It stresses the responsibility of Communists in federal and national governments, in all management organs, and in the economic sphere for the acceleration of socioeconomic development, achieving a higher creation of resources, implementing the restructuring of the economic mechanism, securing further growth in living standards, and improving people's social amenities.

The Central Committee places fundamental importance on the quality and realization of the state plan for next year. It considers the goals and set tasks to be the minumum; it expresses dissatisfaction because despite sufficient time for drafting and securing the plan for next year, a change in the approach of management and organizational work did not take place at all levels. The resolution points out that overcoming present shortcomings demands a speedier solving of the main problems in individual sectors. It is necessary to give particular attention to engineering and electrical engineering, with emphasis on increasing the quality and technical economic parameters of production, and approaching the solution of problems more intensively, particularly by way of modernizing selected capacities for the production of consumer goods. In the agricultural and food complex it is necessary to ensure a faster growth of crop production before all accessible reserves are mobilized in livestock production. It is necessary to bring about a radical change in the entire investment process. In external economic relations the task is to improve the effectiveness of foreign trade. The fulfillment of the intentions of the social programs set by the 17th party congress must be based on the creation of resources.

The CPCZ Central Committee, in the interest of creating the necessary conditions for the entry of the economy into the Ninth 5-Year Plan, regards it essential to carry out the decisions made by the federal government, to speed up the restructuring of the economic mechanism so that it can be applied to the broadest degree from 1 January 1990. To achieve this it is necessary to markedly intensify work on the specification of measures and their application in practice, and to apply a coordinated approach from a single economic center. It is necessary to intensify the application of the principles of merit and differentiation in the remuneration of collectives and individuals in accordance with the quality, technical standard of production, the growth of labor productivity, and the end results for society.

It is essential to complete the reorganization of the production, technological, scientific, research, and marketing infrastructure of the national economy in state enterprises. For the course of the restructuring to be successful, it is the work of people, above all, leading economic officials, their enterprise, creativity, and willingness to undertake sound risks which is the key issue. The current tasks are placing high demands on the activity of all segments of the political system, and on the enterprising work of communists in them. The party Central Committee attaches great importance to the activity of the national committees.

The CPCZ Central Committee instructs party bodies and organizations and all Communists to create a climate of exactingness and accountability for the implementation of the state plan for next year, to raise the effectiveness of political leadership, and to improve the quality of the forms and methods of asserting the party's leading role in the economy, while at the same time not replacing state and economic bodies or direct party supervision in the consistent promotion of socially-wide interests.

The Central Committee instructs Communists, state authorities in legislative bodies, governments, and the national committees to secure the tasks of the state operational plan for the coming year and to seek possibilities for exceeding it in desirable aspects, to create conditions for the successful application of the new economic mechanism from the beginning of 1990 throughout the national economy, to increase the effectiveness of directing work and supervisory activity of the single national economic center, and to speed work on the draft of the Ninth 5-Year Plan and other documents for the preparation of the 18th party congress.

The Central Committee instructs communists in economic organizations to take specific measures to ensure the tasks of the state plan for the coming year, to energetically tackle problems in capital investment, to consistantly ensure that the technical standard and quality of output is increased, that production costs and the energy-intensiveness of production are reduced, that socialist competition and other forms of working people's initiative are directed toward increasing quality and exceeding supplies to the domestic market and export in the required structure and range.

The party Central Committee instructs communists in the revolutionary trade union movement, the Socialist Youth Union, and other organizations of the National Front to mobilize creative forces, abilities, and the initiative of the working people toward fulfilling and even exceeding the tasks set in the plan for the coming year.

Reviewed at Press Conference

LD1612225688 Prague CTK in English
2048 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] Prague Dec 16 (CTK)—The most significant conclusion of the 12th session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee for the activity of the party and the life of society was the decision to convene the 18th party congress one year ahead of schedule, in May 1990, the head of the Central Committee Political-Organizational Department stated here today.

Addressing a news conference devoted to the results of the session, Vladimir Patek also characterized as significant the approval of a new document on cadre policy under which the Central Committee apparatus will be halved and thus competence will be shifted to lower links. The new document also simplifies the mechanism of cadre work.

Vladimir Patek pointed out that the congress, which is to solve the serious tasks following from the development of the process of restructuring in Czechoslovakia, could not be replaced by a national conference as proposed by some party bodies and organizations, due to the party statutes. The congress will also meet earlier than planned in order to thoroughly prepare the conception of the Ninth Five-Year Plan of Czechoslovakia's economic and social development for 1991-1995 and the campaign for general elections due in 1991.

Questions concerning the present economic policy and its perspectives, as dealt with by a report submitted by Premier Ladislav Adamec, were answered at the news conference by First Deputy Premier and Chairman of the State Planning Commission Bohumil Urban.

He stated that voices calling for necessary changes in the structure of the Czechoslovak economy were heard in the debate more urgently then ever before. These changes will necessitate abandonment of a number of ineffective productions requiring too high raw material, material and energy input, and will concern particularly engineering, metallurgical, chemical and power industries.

Bohumil Urban pointed out that the 1989 plan envisages a 2.2-per cent growth of the gross national income and a one-per cent higher turnover on foreign markets. Although these are not very high indices, their implementation will be demanding since the Czechoslovak economy has as yet been failing to implement the tasks of the current Eighth Five-Year Plan started in 1986.

A stabilizing factor remains to be agriculture, Bohumil Urban said and characterized the transition to the new way of management in the agricultural and food production from January 1, 1989 as well as the introduction of new wholesale prices in the entire national economy from the same date as important steps in the restructuring of the economic mechanism. Next year, some 25-30 new or amended legislative measures in favour of restructuring in Czechoslovakia are expected to be approved.

Speaking on external relations Bohumil Urban emphasized the resolve to solve more resolutely the problem of ever growing Czechoslovak assets in relations with the socialist countries. "As for the developing countries, many of them fail to repay the credits provided by Czechoslovakia earlier. The level of unsettled accounts was usually not revealed but I say it openly that at present they total over 1,500 million U.S. dollars which certainly affects the economy of our not very big country."

Bohumil Urban characterized as decisive for the recovery of the Czechoslovak economy consistently effective capital construction and realization of the most progressive scientific-technological findings. Questions of slow scientific-technological development and their solution will be therefore discussed at the 13th Session of the Communist Party Central Committee next year.

Radio Jammers 'Switched Off' 17 Dec
LD1712104588 Hamburg DPA in German
1027 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Prague (DPA)—Czechoslovakia stopped the jamming of foreign broadcasts Saturday. All jammers have been switched off. Apart from Radio Free Europe, Deutsche Welle had been particularly affected by jamming on its frequency. The end of the jamming has not been officially confirmed.

Fojtik Addresses Journalists on Media Tasks
AU1412214188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
8 Dec 88 p 2

[CTK report: "Responsibilities of Czechoslovak Journalism; Joint Session of the Central Committees of Czechoslovak, Czech, and Slovak Journalists Unions"]

[Excerpts] Prague— The Central Committees of Czechoslovak, Czech, and Slovak Journalists Unions discussed the tasks facing the Czechoslovak Journalists Union after the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session on ideological work at their joint session in Prague on Wednesday [7 December]. Their deliberations were attended by Jan Fojtik, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Central Committee secretary; by Marie Hutterova, secretary of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR; and by other guests. [passage omitted]

Comrade Jan Fojtik was one of the speakers in the discussion. He began by expressing appreciation of the way in which the committees of journalists unions are approaching the conclusions adopted by the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session, and of the fact that they deduce from these conclusions the tasks to be accomplished by journalists' organizations and by all our socialist journalists.

He recalled that the significant session to be held by the CPCZ Central Committee next week will be oriented toward appraising the course of restructuring and the accomplishment of tasks set by the Eighth 5-Year Plan. The session will also adopt an important decision on the preparation of the 18th CPCZ Congress, thus opening the period which will logically lead to a new activation of the party and the society. Understandably, this period will also confront our communications media with great duties, without which this activation is scarcely imaginable. In order to cope with these duties, the pages of our newspapers and magazines must become the rostrums of a broad constructive exchange of views and of creative discussions on the basic issues of the further advancement of our society; their attention will have to be focused on the accomplishment of these tasks, in which the most authoritative people (assisted by appropriate collectives in all sectors of social life) will have to participate. It is necessary to adopt a critical view of all shortcomings—which must be eliminated, if we want to progress and to consolidate and develop all the achievements of socialism which mobilize us for principled advancement. It is essential for the communications media to concentrate their forces on enabling us to master the future with greater determination and a healthy confidence and to get rid of all the burdens of the past, and finally to fully free our hands for work which is exclusively concerned with the present.

The successful course of the period preceding the congress, and thus also the further progress of restructuring in Czechoslovakia, will greatly depend on the way our journalistic front will realize its responsibilities in helping to create a businesslike and creative atmosphere in the society, Jan Fojtik stated. It is no secret that certain forces are not interested in letting this happen, that they would like to parasitize on restructuring, to demagogically frustrate it (even while pretending to be the most enthusiastic proponents of restructuring), to abuse restructuring against socialism, for discrediting it. Happily, we have some experience in fighting these forces—but we must not forget this experience, and the editorial offices of our communications media must keep it in mind in the first place. Naive and carefree attitudes are out of place in this. Deplorably, we can still find them here and there, and will have to deal with their manifestations in a serious and principled manner. Things have to be resolved in time—this is the foundation of all success. The criteria which we follow are clear: we aim to restructure, so as to consolidate and further develop socialism—and not to weaken, or even threaten it. Democracy and socialism are inseparable. A democratization involving a free scope for attacks on socialism (as a rule, these are usually veiled at the beginning) will find no support in our country.

Our communications media are now confronted by an extremely important task: to clarify their idea of what it will mean for them to be obliged to function as a school of democracy and socialist husbandry; and every editorial office, without exception, will have to do this. If we are to accomplish the tasks set for us by the CPCZ on the ideological front, the editorial offices must now examine this issue on a priority basis, Jan Fojtik stressed.

Mitterrand Interviewed in Prague 9 Dec
AU1612131088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
10 Dec 88 p 2

[Report signed "MC, STS": "French President Holds Press Conference"]

[Text] **Prague (Our correspondent)—Francois Mitterrand, president of the French Republic, held a press conference for foreign and Czechoslovak journalists in Prague's Intercontinental Hotel on Friday [9 December] evening.**

Asked by Czechoslovak Radio what impressions he is taking home with him from his 2-day official visit to Czechoslovakia, he said:

"Both days of my visit were full and rich. The talks conducted by my entourage were just as meaningful. Above all we discussed relations between East and West, disarmament, the development of thinking, practical reforms in everyday life, and all spheres of bilateral relations, including contacts between young people in our countries, and language teaching. At the same time, our talks were influenced by topical developments—especially the proposals submitted by Mikhail Gorbachev in the UN in New York.

"I had only 36 hours to get to know Czechoslovakia, and in those 36 hours I saw, heard, and learned about things. I spoke not only with Czechoslovakia's highest representatives, whom I formerly knew only by name. I consider personal contact with them, as well as direct contact with your country, to be irreplaceable. Of course, before my departure I already had certain ideas and information, and despite that I can say that I was very surprised. Namely, personal contact always yields a further important element of understanding. Not only did I meet with ranking representatives, but also with a certain number of people who oppose the system in this country. Thus, I can get a more complete idea about the people who live in this country. My visit to Czechoslovakia—the first by a French president since the inception of your independent state in 1918—will clearly contribute to our drawing closer [sblizeni], to the development of political, economic, and cultural relations. Otherwise, there would be no sense to it." Francois Mitterrand then recalled that it was France which contributed to the inception of our independent state in 1918.

To a question concerning human rights from the Swiss paper 24 HEURES, he answered that, of course, this problem was a part of the talks he had with the CSSR president and the CPCZ Central Committee general secretary. "Neither of them waited for me to start speaking about the subject," Francois Mitterand said. "None of us lost the opportunity to stress this issue in his own way. I would like to add that this was from positions which are probably different. In essence, the point at issue is the content of the Helsinki agreements which represent the basis that we must observe and in which we must make headway, naturally each in his own way."

Asked by RUDE PRAVO about the possibilities of the development of cooperation in the Eureka technological project, including cooperation between the socialist countries and the West, the president answered:

"During my visit to Czechoslovakia I met with your influential representatives, who are acquainted with this problem. It was impossible not to touch upon such an important subject. I spoke about it, and they spoke about it; and last week we discussed this with Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow. The Eureka technological project currently affiliates 18 countries, 6 of which do not belong to the EEC. I wish it could be extended to all countries that are interested in it, and as long as they have something to contribute to it. However, this also is a question of mechanism, because these are, in particular, enterprises which often conclude multilateral agreements among themselves. I can say that the results are fantastic and have exceeded all our expectations. For quite a while, I have been stressing what we today call audiovisual Eureka; this proceeds from the results achieved precisely in technological Eureka. What I mean is high-resolution television, which could beat even the Japanese and American systems. I also spoke about it with M. Gorbachev, and it seemed to me that he was interested in having this new technology demonstrated. All talks on this theme are very promising. The Czechoslovak representatives made the same impression of openness on me. It is necessary to develop European cooperation where it is possible already now. And we can expect still better results from modern technologies which, thanks to satellites, recognize no borders. We spoke about this and it seemed to me to be very positive."

A CTK correspondent asked whether—on the basis of the results of this visit—there are concrete possibilities for developing cooperation between Czechoslovakia and France in the economic and cultural spheres. In his answer, M. Mitterrand stressed that such cooperation is, of course, possible, especially because thus far this cooperation is on a very low level; and where almost nothing has been done, even a little might seem plenty. However, we are not allowing ourselves to be satisfied with little, he continued. I must add that, when we take into consideration the volume of Czechoslovakia's international trade with the whole world, France's share in it is very modest. However, this applies the other way, too. Therefore, the enterpreneurs and technicians who accompanied me did a good job in that respect.

And this applies not only to industrial sectors, but also to trade. Precisely herein lies a great source of interest, which is to be opened up from now on. This also applies to the sphere of culture. I have already spoken about the great possibilities connected, for example, with audiovisual Eureka, but, nevertheless, I would like to add that, in this, we probably have the biggest market for the beginning of the next century.

We also discussed the possibility of establishing a French cultural center in Czechoslovakia and improving the teaching of the French language. Here, too, progress was achieved.

The weekly VLASTA asked a question concerning a possible development of mutual cooperation in education.

In his answer, F. Mitterrand said that the French side feels the need to increase the number of stipends for Czechoslovak students. During a discussion at the Comenius University in Bratislava I met with great interest in studies in France, the president said. Regarding the teaching of French, he noted that it has been retreating before English and German, but there is plenty of goodwill on both sides for French to spread again. Of course, one has to proceed in both directions, especially as regards the translation of books.

Asked by RUDE PRAVO how one should understand the President's utterance at Thursday's [8 December] dinner about the French-German reconciliation as a possible guarantee of peace and security for everyone in the context of the development of military cooperation between the FRG and France, and the establishment of a joint military brigade, he said:

If the arms buildup of the two big powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, were not so much greater than ours, we would not have to arm to such an extent. The elimination of the intermediate missiles, the 50-percent reduction of strategic weapons, the upcoming Paris conference on banning the use of chemical weapons—all that is fine. M. Gorbachev's proposals in New York, too. And even so, despite this, the Soviet Union and the United States still have more than 12,000 nuclear warheads each. France has 300. Should those two big powers reduce arms to a sensible level, we would no longer be interested in what we understand under the term French-German brigade. I would like to stress that France and the FRG are allies, they are members of the same military bloc. I wish blocs would disappear, but, thus far, they exist. In the complex of arms buildup and disarmament as a whole, the French-German brigade is essentially a second-rate issue. I am prepared to make France join in any effort aimed at disarmament when the big powers achieve a level comparable with ours. Thus far, our forces are very disparate. Even the 50-percent reduction in strategic weapons means that the USSR and the United States will have 6,000 nuclear warheads each. And that is a huge number. My opinion is that we should address the armament problems of these two countries. The moment for France to join in has not yet arrived. We need further signals.

Asked by Czechoslovak Radio whether any economic agreements had been signed during the visit, F. Mitterrand said that the signing of agreements was not the objective of the visit. However, pledges for agreements exist in many spheres, especially as regards the establishment of mixed enterprises, as well as in the cultural sphere. I would compare them to a promise of marriage, the president said. But from a promise to marriage itself, one still has to take a step. My journey served to create a certain climate to make Czechoslovakia and France pledge to reach agreements.

A correspondent of the NEW TIMES asked how the French president assesses M. Gorbachev's latest initiative in New York.F. Mitterrand described this initiative as splendid. I consider that this unilateral decision is politically and psychologically determinant, he said. While we have been in doubt until now about when the talks on conventional disarmament will actually start in Vienna, the whole mechanism is now beginning to move. Of course, the Soviet decision on unilateral disarmament is not enough in terms of the final objectives. That, however, does not diminish its significance. We must go still farther. I am convinced that representatives of the world want to engage themselves in that respect.

Correspondents from France-Inter Radio and the U.S. news agency AP asked, in several varied ways, questions concerning A. Dubcek, the French president's meeting with the Charter 77 signatories, and the problem of human rights in Czechoslovakia. F. Mitterrand said that on Friday [9 December] morning he had met with some six or nine people, the majority of whom were signatories of the charter. Mr Dubcek had not been among them.

Regarding human rights, F. Mitterrand continued, the president and the general secretary themselves began talking about this issue, and they are aware of its topicality, which made it easier for us to approach this problem. I did not hear anyone saying that this problem had been resolved by means of silence or rejection. That is all I can say on the subject.

In conclusion, President Mitterrand thanked the Czechoslovak people for the nice and pleasant reception extended to him wherever he went during his visit.

Mitterrand Visit Called 'Important Stimulus'

AU1612192988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
10 Dec 88 p 7

[Stanislav Stepanek commentary in the "We Comment" column: "Suggestions Turned Into Deeds"]

[Text] The first visit by a French president to Czechoslovakia in the entire history of our state has ended. The event itself is a significant phenomenon, which tells us a lot about the current atmosphere and the development of international relations, and also our mutual relations with France. However, it would probably be too inadequate to stop here in evaluating the state visit.

What has Francois Mitterrand's 2-day visit to Czechoslovakia really yielded? First, both sides affirmed that they are most intensely interested in an all-round development of Czechoslovak - French relations. There is not the least doubt about this today.

Naturally, we are not so naive as to turn a drop of water into a downpour. As does any "master of the house," we naturally do not like people to tell us what color to paint it. That is also why we particularly value what the French president said about respecting our sovereignty. The history of Czechoslovak - French relations has taught us what a serious statement this is.

True, the French president does not like it when people in his country talk about his "new Eastern policy," but the policy really is new. Herein the French press does not err: the Elysee Palace has really reappraised things. The president has been recently voicing many stimulating ideas, and he did so in Prague. One is obviously fully justified in speaking about Mitterrand's understanding of Europe at the turn of the millennium. The rapprochement of "two Europes" is a key issue in it—a vision which can be hardly objected to, since it is formulated so attractively and skillfully (even if it naturally can be interpreted in various ways). However, this is a matter for dialogue, and a dialogue is what the two countries have just activated.

In brief, the CSSR and France have followed up the past for the needs of the future, and this future has clearly crystallized priorities today: to recognize the prospects of mutual and peaceful coexistence, to define the new understanding of security, to jointly face the global problems of all mankind, to renew trust among the states. We have probably not yet fully realized what great progress it is when these tasks are included in the speeches of both G. Husak and F. Mitterrand, of both M. Gorbachev and R. Reagan.

During their talks, both our own and French representatives stressed that it is essential to progress from suggestions to deeds, to turn thoughts into reality. Certain things have already been done. The fruit of these new processes can be seen, for instance, in the French initiative to convene a conference on chemical weapons in Paris. This idea received proper support in Prague. The two sides found several points of contact in M. Jakes' proposal to create a zone of confidence, cooperation, and good neighborly relations along the line of contact between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and in the French idea of excluding an unexpected attack, which concerns the same sphere. The USSR's measures for withdrawing six divisions from the CSSR, GDR, and the Hungarian People's Republic are also oriented toward the same thing.

Mitterrand conducted his negotiations in Prague with the top representatives of our country, and the ministers from his entourage had discussions with their partners here. That is why the gamut of issues under discussion was far broader than these lines could indicate. One spoke at length about economic contacts. The striking difference between the possibilities and needs, on the one hand, and the reality, on the other, satisfies nobody. The first small steps have been taken. However, it is still a long way from the joint construction of one hotel (its foundation stone was laid during the visit) to more extensive cooperation and entrepreneurship. To say nothing of the scientific-technical sphere, etc.

Naturally, such a visit cannot be expected to change the situation as though it were a magic wand, but it can be an important stimulus. We can justly hope that this is what has happened. However, the decisive thing will be the following stage: as in the political sphere, it is also true that it is essential to turn ideas into deeds as soon as possible.

CPCZ's Mevald Received by PCP's Cunhal

AU1212080888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Dec 88 p 6

[CTK Report]

[Text] Porto—On Saturday [3 December] PCP General Secretary A. Cunhal received a CPCZ Central Committee delegation headed by member of its Secretariat and secretary of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR, Josef Mevald, which attended the deliberations of the 12th PCP Congress. Comrade Cunhal valued the good and sincere relations between the two parties and favored their further development.

Josef Mevald provided information about topical developments in the CSSR, especially in connection with restructuring and the conclusions of the latest CPCZ Central Committee sessions. He said that the struggle of the Portuguese Communists will always have the sympathy and support of the members of the CPCZ and all Czechoslovak people.

At the end of the PCP Congress Josef Mevald gave an interview to a special CTK correspondent. He said, among other things, that its course disappointed those who thought that the PCP is "on the verge of a crisis." The congress was a frank exchange of opinions on the current situation waged from clear positions of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The PCP with its 200,000 members, as one of the strongest parties in Europe, enjoys great authority in the international communist and workers movement.

Model Middle East Conference Praised

AU1512125388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Dec 88 p 6

[Josef Nyvlt article: "Unambiguous Standpoint"]

[Text] The rights of the Palestinians must be respected. The fastest and most logical path to the settlement of the protracted crisis in the Middle East is the convocation of an international peace conference attended by all involved parties.

This was the conclusion of the 3-day Model International Conference on the Middle East, which ended in Prague on Thursday [8 December]. The participants, including 50 public officials—Palestinians, Israelis, representatives of Arab countries, personalities from the UN Security Council's permanent member states and international organizations—constituted a broad spectrum of views and attitudes, an undoubted intellectual potential and, at the same time, the will to contribute their share to the solution of this long conflict.

It has already been said that there have not been many such meetings. This Prague meeting was all the more important because it could analyze the new conditions that have come into being recently.

In the first place, there is the uprising of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories, which broke out exactly a year ago. A few months ago, Israeli representatives were belittling the uprising in all possible ways. The former chief of staff of the Israeli Army, Eytan, has even declared that it is only "cockroaches fighting in an empty bottle." However, even without weapons the Palestinian uprising has demonstrated its power. It has become the expression of united will to assert the legitimate rights of and respect for the PLO. The campaign of civic disobedience, strikes, and stones against despotism, which has an excellent military machinery to rely on—has shaken world public opinion—the idea that 20 years of occupation has blunted the blade of resistance. And the more than 400 victims in the 12 months of the uprising are the commitment for the future.

By overcoming the former stereotypes, the 19th session of the Palestine National Council (PNC) in Algiers has also created a new political atmosphere, new objective conditions. The proclamation by Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, in Stockholm on Wednesday [7 December], confirms that a genuine turn in relations toward Israel has come. On the decision contained already in the Algiers declaration—that the PNC regards the UN Security Council's resolutions as the foundation for a solution—Y. 'Arafat said literally in Stockholm that the PNC has "proclaimed the foundation of a Palestinian state and accepted the existence of Israel as a state in the region."

Thus the letter which the participants in the Prague model conference have sent to the UN Secretary General is an unambiguous stance and the expression of the attitude toward the existing reality in the Middle East. The demand to begin preparations for an international peace conference without delay is shared by all with the exception of the United States and Israel. And the deliberations, held only a few days before the session of the UN General Assembly on the Palestinian question—the fact that the session is being held in Geneva, Switzerland, and not on U.S. soil, is telling—is an important impetus for showing the authority and weight of the will of the international community.

Agriculture Intensification Talks With GDR

AU1212163288 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Dec 88 p 2

["ska"-signed report in the "Per Teletype, Mail, Telephone" column]

[Text] The Agricultural Academies of the CSSR and the GDR began 3-day deliberations on joint tasks in Karlovy Vary on Monday [5 December]. The meeting is being held on the basis of a cooperation agreement and is oriented toward an accelerated intensification of agriculture and the foodstuff industry in the coming years.

SED Delegation Ends Romania Visit
AU1212212688 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Dec 88 p 5

[Text] Bucharest (ADN)—Ion Stoian, candidate member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee and RCP Central Committee secretary, received Bruno Mahlow, member of the SED Central Auditing Commission, who paid a visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania, in Bucharest on Thursday [8 December]. An exchange of experiences and opinions was held on the development of party relations.

Journalist Cooperation Protocol With Romania
AU1412150788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Dec 88 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Secretaries Kurt Vogel and Ion Putinelu signed a protocol on cooperation between the GDR Journalists' Association and the Journalists' Council of the SR of Romania in 1989. Both professional organizations agreed on an exchange of delegations.

Trade Protocol With Romania Signed
LD1712145588 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1249 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A protocol on mutual supply of goods and services between the GDR and Romania for 1989 was signed in Berlin on Saturday.

The main items to be exported from the GDR are machine-tool and textiles machinery, cranes, multipurpose vehicles, technological special equipment, news technology, equipment for opencast mining, agricultural engineering technology, and potash fertilizers.

The GDR imports from Romania specialist railway carriages, drilling equipment, electric motors, energy equipment, foodstuffs, and gourmet items, as well as fresh and processed fruit and vegetables.

Construction machinery, instruments, computer technology, electronic components, chemical products and rolled steel comprise further items mutually supplied.

Science, Education Cooperation With Bulgaria
AU0912152888 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Dec 88 p 2

[Text] Sofia (ADN)—On Thursday [1 December], Guenter Heidorn, deputy minister for university and technical school matters, concluded a 2-day exchange of opinions concerning the further shaping of cooperation in the spheres of science and education between the GDR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Heidorn's partners in the talks in the Ministry of Culture, Science, and Education were Minister Ilcho Dimitrov, chairman of the Intellectual Development Council, Deputy Minister Dimitur Buchkov, chairman of the Council for University Education of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and in the Academy of Sciences, Blagovest Sendov, president of the Academy of Sciences. Several agreements on further extending direct cooperation were signed.

Trade Protocol With Bulgaria Signed
LD1012145788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1250 GMT 10 Dec 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR and Bulgaria have agreed on the mutual supplies of goods and services for 1989. A protocol to this effect, which was signed in Berlin on Saturday, provides for continuing to expand foreign trade relations.

The provisions, based on the long-term trade agreement for 1986-90, mark out considerable increases of mutual supplies, patticularly with regard to such goods and groups of products that significantly influence the intensification of production and the mastery of key technologies. The focal points of the GDR exports will be specialized technological equipment for microelectronics, electronic components, automation equipment, licences, and know-how. An important place in the Bulgarian exports is held by electronic computer technology as well as lifting and transport machinery.

Loeffler Meets PPR Church Affairs Official
AU1012180188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Dec 88 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Kurt Loeffler, state secretary for church affairs, received Kazimierz Morawski, president of the Christian Social Association of the PPR and member of the State Council in Berlin on Tuesday [6 December]. He outlined to his guest how, in harmony with the ethical principles of faith, the Christians in the GDR contribute through their abilities to the socialist society. Kazimierz Morawski emphasized that the friendship between the PPR and GDR is actively supported by the Christian citizens of both countries. The two sides concurred in stressing that bringing about permanent peace in Europe and a just and peaceful world requires an increasingly closer cooperation between all people of good will.

Work Program With USSR Arts Academy Signed
AU1412105988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10-11 Dec 88 p 2

[Summary] East Berlin (ADN)—On 9 December in Berlin, the presidents of the Academies of Arts of the GDR and the USSR, Manfred Wekwerth and Boris Ugarov, signed a joint work plan for cultural, artistic, and scientific cooperation for the 1989-90 period. Joint projects include an exhibition of works by Gerhard Kettner on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR in Moscow in 1989 and an exhibition of the Soviet Academy during the days of USSR culture on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the victory and the liberation in Berlin in 1990.

Kurt Seibt Speaks at PCP Congress

AU0912165488 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Dec 88 p 6

[Unattributed report: "SED Stands Firmly at the Side of the Portuguese Communists"]

[Text] We feel satisfaction and joy about the decade-long close militant alliance of the SED and the PCP. This was stressed by Kurt Seibt, chairman of the SED Central Auditing Commission, in his greetings address at the 12th PCP Congress in Porto on Friday [2 December]. The SED delegation is deeply impressed by the militant dedication demonstrated at this party congress, the delegation head stated. Once again the revolutionary spirit, the affinity with the masses, and the devoted work of the Portuguese Communists for the vital interests of the working people can be felt. The SED follows with respect the initiative-rich struggle of the Portuguese Communists to defend the April revolution. It is convinced that the achievements of this revolution could not be nullified. The discussions in Porto demonstrate the power, maturity, and the great sense of responsibility of the PCP, which tries to find creative answers to the urgent questions of our time in view of new national and international challenges, Seibt said.

The 12th PCP Congress again demonstrates the strength of Marxism-Leninism, which has always proved its worth—also under complicated conditions—as a source of strength and a reliable guideline for both parties, Kurt Seibt said.

The SED fully agrees with the PCP that the most important task of the present consists in preventing a nuclear war and ensuring the survival of mankind. In this respect, one must not entertain any illusions: Every step toward disarmament and peaceful coexistence has to be pushed through in protracted, bitter conflicts with the most aggressive imperialist circles of the military-industrial complex. Under these conditions it is and remains the motto of the SED: The stronger the socialism, the more secure is peace.

As internationalists we observe and support the struggle of our fraternal parties in the capitalist countries for peace, democracy, and social progress. In all struggles, which have to be overcome at present and in the future, we will continue to stand firmly at the side of the Portuguese Communists, Kurt Seibt concluded.

Health Cooperation Agreement With Austria Signed

AU1112145188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Dec 88 p 5

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The eighth work plan in the field of public health between the GDR Health Ministry and the Federal Chancellory of the Republic of Austria for the years 1989 and 1990 was signed by Rudolf Mueller, deputy health minister of the GDR, and Gunter Liebeswar, head of the Austrian Federal Chancellory's health section, in Berlin on Wednesday [7 December]. Cooperation will focus on cardiovascular diseases, growths, diabetes mellitus, and occupational health. During their several-day visit, the guests visited health and social facilities in Berlin and the Schwerin Bezirk.

Exit Visa Seekers Occupy Church, Get Arrested

LD1812163888 Hamburg DPA in German 1552 GMT 18 Dec 88

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The arrest in a Weimar church of some people who wished to leave the GDR has caused great dismay among Protestant ministers in the GDR. This was confirmed today by informed sources in West Berlin. Weimar Superintendent Hans Reder allowed five GDR citizens who wished to leave the GDR to be arrested in his church at the beginning of December.

According to the available information, it was the first time that a GDR church minister had handed over to the police GDR citizens wishing to leave the country and who had occupied a church.

It was said further in West Berlin that a dozen or so church occupations in the GDR by those wishing to leave had come to light recently. In every case, apart from that in Weimar, it had been possible to settle the actions by involving churchmen, lawyers, and official representatives in discussions "in complete calm."

In Weimar, three men and two women locked themselves in the sacristy an hour before a service and declared that they would leave only when they had received exit permits. Superintendent Reder then—it is claimed—called the police, who waited in front of the church with five cars until the end of the service; then broke into the sacristy and led the occupants away in handcuffs. It is stressed that three of the occupants were doctors.

Decree on Foreign Travel Published

AU1612131488 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Dec 88 p 6

["Decree on Travels of GDR Citizens to Foreign Countries of 30 November 1988"; published in GDR LEGAL GAZETTE I, No 25, of 13 December 1988]

[Text] The following has been decreed with regard to the travel of GDR citizens to foreign countries:

Section One
Scope
(1) This decree regulates preconditions and procedures for the travel of GDR citizens to foreign countries.
(2) Travel to foreign countries as defined by this decree are official, tourist, and private trips and travel to leave the country permanently.

Principles
Section Two
(1) GDR citizens are permitted to travel abroad in line with the preconditions set down in the decree.
(2) A GDR passport may be issued to citizens upon their application.

Section Three
(1) For travel abroad, citizens need a GDR passport and a permit given by issuing a visa or an authorization with visa status.
(2) Given special regulations, travel abroad may be undertaken without a passport or a visa.
(3) The duration of official, tourist, and private trips is limited.

Section Four
Official Trips

(1) Official trips take place at the order or in the interest of the state organs, combines, economic management organs, enterprises, cooperatives, institutions, parties, and social organizations of the GDR for state, social, scientific, cultural, athletic, or economic-commercial reasons and in pursuance of a vocation.

(2) Applications for official trips are to be made at the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, or at the German People's Police Office—Passports and Registration—that is responsible for the applicant's area of residence.

Section Five
Tourist Trips

(1) Tourist trips are organized by the VEB GDR Travel Agency, the "Jugendtourist" Youth Travel Agency of the FDJ, or the FDGB.

(2) Tourist trips may also be arranged by certain institutions of other states in the GDR, if this has been agreed.

(3) Applications for tourist trips according to subsection one are to be made by the above-mentioned institutions at the Ministry of the Interior or at the German People's Police Office—Passports and Registration—that is responsible for the area of the institutions' seat and those for trips according to subsection two are to be made by the citizens at the German People's Police Office—Passports and Registration—responsible for their area of residence.

Private Trips
Section Six

Private trips to the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the DPRK, the Mongolian People's Republic, the PPR, the SR of Romania, the CSSR, the USSR, and the Hungarian People's Republic may be undertaken without special reasons if there are no other regulations applicable.

Section Seven

(1) Applications for private trips to countries other than mentioned in section six may be made by grandparents, parents (including step parents), children (including stepchildren), and siblings (including halfsiblings) on the occasion of births, Christenings, naming ceremonies, enrollment in schools, youth initiation ceremonies, confirmation, and first communion, civil and church weddings, 25th, 50th, 60th, 65th, and 70th anniversaries of civil and church weddings, on 50th, 55th, and 60th birthdays and all birthdays afterwards, on the occasion of church investitures, ordinations, and office jubilees, and in case of critical diseases, need of care, deaths, and funerals.

(2) Applications for private trips to countries other than mentioned in section six may be made by grandchildren, parents-in-law, daughters-in-law, sons-in-law, aunts, uncles, nieces, nephews, cousins, sisters-in-law, and brothers-in-law on the occasion of births, civil and church weddings, 25th, 50th, 60th, 65th, and 70th anniversaries of civil and church weddings, on 50th, 60th, 65th, 70th birthdays and all birthdays afterwards, and in case of critical diseases, deaths, and funerals.

(3) Applications for private trips of citizens who have reached the legal retirement age or are invalid may be made without any special reasons.

(4) Applications may be made by citizens above the age of 18.

(5) The existence of reasons in line with subsections one and two is to be proved by documents, official certificates, or official medical certificates, if the responsible German People's Office—Passports and Registration—so demands.

Section Eight

(1) Applications for private trips in line with sections six and seven, subsection three are to be made at the German People's Police Office—Passports and Registration—responsible for the main or second residence, and those for trips in line with section seven, subsections one and two are to be made at the German People's Police Office—Passports and Registration—responsible for the main residence, in both cases not earlier than 3 months before the start of the trip.

(2) The responsible German People's Police Office—Passports and Registration—is authorized to demand a written agreement from the employer of working people who apply for private trips in line with section seven.

Section Nine

(1) Private trips with motor vehicles may be approved.

(2) Private trips in line with section seven with motor vehicles may be approved if

a) the case is urgent and the destination cannot be reached in time by public means of transport;

b) citizens depend on the use of motor vehicles because of physical handicaps.

Travels to Leave the Country Permanently
Section 10

(1) Travels to leave the country permanently may be approved if there are humanitarian reasons for them.

(2) Humanitarian reasons exist if:

a) parents are to be reunited with their minor children whom they are entitled to bring up;

b) minors, whose parents have died, are to be taken care of by their siblings or—if they do not have any—by their relatives who live abroad, if the responsible organs of the GDR Youth Welfare Department agree;

c) the responsible state organs are to give their consent to marriage in line with section 18 of the Application of the Law Act of 5 December 1975 (Legal Gazette I, No 46, p 748);

d) husband and wife are to be reunited if the marriage took place with the consent of the responsible state organs in line with section 18 of the Application of the Law Act of 5 December 1975 (Legal Gazette I, No 46, p 748) or one partner has moved abroad with the permission of the responsible state organs;

e) single adults are to be reunited with their relatives who live permanently abroad;

f) single adults are to be attended and cared for by their parents or siblings or—if parents or siblings are no longer alive—by their relatives because of their physical or psychological condition;

g) citizens, who have reached the legal retirement age or are invalid, want to go to their relatives or friends to spend their old age there or to be attended and cared for.

(3) Travel to leave the country permanently may also be approved for other humanitarian reasons if this does not entail any damage to social interests and the rights of other citizens concerning their quality of life, in partic-

ular in connection with supply, care, and welfare, and if no disadvantages for the national economy or public order are to be expected.

Section 11

(1) Applications for travel to leave the country permanently are to be made in writing at the council of the kreis/city district, internal affairs department, that is responsible for the applicant's area of main residence or at the corresponding German People's Police Office—Passports and Registration.

(2) Applications for minors are to be made by the person vested with the right of education. Applications for minors above the age of 14 need their notarized consent. The responsible state organs may renounce the notarized consent.

(3) Applications and approvals may be withdrawn at any time.

Section 12

(1) Application in line with section 11 consists of:
a) an application in legal form;
b) written consent of the children according to section 11, subsection 2;
c) statements and certificates demanded by the responsible state organs.

(2) If the statements and certificates in line with subsection one, paragraph c) are not presented during 2 months after the request is made, the application for leaving the country permanently is considered withdrawn.

Grounds for Denial
Section 13

(1) Permission is to be denied if this is necessary to protect national security or national defense.

(2) Permission may be denied if the applicant has not yet done his active military service, service that corresponds to military service, or reservists military service and has not yet reached the age of 26, or if he is currently serving in the protective and security organs, or if the period after his being discharged from service, as prescribed by the responsible state organs, has not yet elapsed.

Section 14

(1) Permission may also be denied if this is necessary to protect public security or other GDR state interests. Above all, this is the case if:
a) due to his current or former work, the applicant knows about matters that have to be kept secret in order to prevent danger, damage, disturbances, and other disadvantages;
b) legal complaints about the applicant have not yet been checked, investigations have been started against him, he is involved in criminal procedures, or if measures pertaining to responsibility under criminal law have to be implemented;
c) actions have been committed against the GDR legal order or if the exclusive responsibility of the GDR state organs has been neglected in connection with the application;
d) there is the well-founded suspicion that the stay abroad is to be used for activities that are to be punished as crimes in accordance with GDR legal provisions;
e) GDR legal provisions were violated or the GDR's reputation was damaged during previous stays abroad;
f) private trips or trips to leave the country permanently are to be made to GDR citizens who are staying abroad in violation of GDR legal provisions;
g) the applicant has made false statements in his application.

(2) Permission for travel to leave the country permanently may also be denied to protect the rights of the citizens, the principles of socialist ethics, and social requirements. Above all, this is the case if:
a) in order to be permitted to leave the country permanently, the applicant has deliberately evaded or deliberately evades his social duties, in particular by giving up his job, and thus causes damage to the citizens' quality of life or if such damage is to be expected;
b) the applicant has not discharged his liabilities in the GDR;
c) a citizen's right to relations [Umgangsbefugnis] with minors is touched upon;
d) couples would be separated or persons vested with the right of education would be separated from their minor children;
e) the orderly management of real estate, buildings, or other property of the applicant would not be ensured.

Section 15

Permission may be denied temporarily or permanently if the protection of the interests or rights of GDR citizens is not sufficiently ensured during a stay abroad.

Section 16
Decisions and Processing Periods

(1) Decisions in line with this decree are made by the heads of the passports and registration departments or the heads of the internal affairs departments of the German People's Police Offices or the councils of the kreise/city districts that are responsible for accepting the applications.

(2) In general, applications in line with articles four, six, and seven are to be decided within 30 days. In urgent cases the application is decided within 3 work days. In case of tourist trips, the periods are to be adjusted to the processing methods of the institutions mentioned in section five, subsection one.

(3) In general, applications in line with section 10, subsection two are to be decided within 3 months and those in line with section 10, subsection three within 6 months.

(4) The processing period starts with the presentation of the application documents demanded by the responsible state organs in line with the stipulations of this decree.

Section 17
Information About Decisions

The applicant is to be informed about a decision made in accordance with this decree.

The legal grounds for a rejection are to be conveyed in writing.

Section 18
Legal Remedies

(1) A decision made in line with this decree may be appealed. The person affected by the decision is to be informed about this.

(2) Appeals against decisions of the head of the internal affairs department of the council of the kreis/city district are to be sent in writing to this person within 2 weeks after the decision has been announced. If he cannot grant the appeal, he has to present the appeal to the chairman of the kreis council or to the city district mayor within 4 weeks after its reception. The latter have to decide within 6 weeks. If this period cannot be observed, an interim notice has to be given.

(3) If decisions have been made by the head of the German People's Police Office —Passports and Registration, the appeal procedures are regulated by article 19 of the Law on Tasks and Powers of the German People's Police of 11 June 1968 (LEGAL GAZETTE I, No 11, p 232).

Section 19
Judicial Review

(1) The person affected may apply for judicial review of a decision made on an appeal in line with this decree within 2 weeks. The application for review may be based solely on the fact that the decision on the appeal has been in violation of the law.

(2) An application for judicial review is not permissible if the appeal has not been granted for reasons mentioned in section 13, subsection one.

(3) The proceedings are subject to the corresponding legal provisions.

Section 20
Reapplication

(1) Applications for trips may be made again if the reasons that have led to the rejection of the application do no longer exist. Applications for leaving the country permanently may be made again after 6 months at the earliest.

(2) The repeated presentation of documents for the application that have already been submitted at an earlier date may be renounced if these documents are still valid.

Concluding Provisions
Section 21

The stipulations of this decree are also applicable to stateless persons with permanent residence in the GDR.

Section 22

Legal provisions necessary to implement this decree will be issued by the minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police.

Section 23

(1) This decree—except section 19—comes into force on 1 January 1989. Section 19 comes into force on 1 July 1989.

(2) At the same time, the following will be repealed:

a) the decree of 15 September 1983 regulating issues of family reunification and marriage between GDR citizens and foreigners (Legal Gazette I, No 26, 254);

b) the first implementing regulation of 15 September 1983 on the decree regulating issues of family reunification and marriage between GDR citizens and foreigners (LEGAL GAZETTE I, No 26, p 255);

c) the directive of 15 February 1982 on regulations on tourist traffic of GDR citizens (LEGAL GAZETTE I, No 9, p 187).

Berlin, 30 November 1988
The GDR Council of Ministers
W. Stoph, chairman;
Dickel, minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police.

Decree on Residence, Marriage Reported

AU1612133488 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Dec 88 p 6

["Decree on the Granting of Permanent Residence to Foreigners in the GDR and on the Marriage of GDR Citizens With Foreigners of 30 November 1988"; published in GDR LEGAL GAZETTE I, No 25 of 13 December 1988]

[Text] The following has been decreed on the granting of permanent residence to foreigners in the GDR and on the marriage of GDR citizens with foreigners:

Section One
Scope

This decree regulates the preconditions and the proceedings for granting permanent residence to foreigners and for consenting to the marriage of GDR citizens with foreigners.

Permanent Residence for Foreigners
Section Two

Granting permanent residence to foreigners in the GDR requires the approval of the responsible German People's Police Office—Passports and Registration.

Section Three

(1) Applications may be made by foreigners above the age of 18 and for minors by persons vested with the right of education.

(2) Applications are to be made in writing to the GDR Embassies or Consulates or to the responsible German People's Police Office—Passports and Registration. Applications in connection with intended marriage may also be made at the councils of the kreise/city districts, internal affairs departments.

Section Four

Application includes:

The legal grounds for a rejection are to be conveyed in writing.

Section 18
Legal Remedies

(1) A decision made in line with this decree may be appealed. The person affected by the decision is to be informed about this.

(2) Appeals against decisions of the head of the internal affairs department of the council of the kreis/city district are to be sent in writing to this person within 2 weeks after the decision has been announced. If he cannot grant the appeal, he has to present the appeal to the chairman of the kreis council or to the city district mayor within 4 weeks after its reception. The latter have to decide within 6 weeks. If this period cannot be observed, an interim notice has to be given.

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Section Four

Application includes:

Section 10
Information About Decisions
The applicant is to be informed about a decision made in accordance with this decree. The legal grounds for a rejection are to be conveyed in writing.

Section 11
Legal Remedies
(1) If consent to marriage is denied, the decision may be appealed. The GDR citizen affected by this decision is to be informed about this.
(2) Appeals against decisions of the heads of the internal affairs department of the council of the kreis/city district or of the persons responsible for this matter in the GDR Embassies or Consulates are to be sent in writing to these persons within 2 weeks after the decision has been announced. If the appeal cannot be granted, it has to be submitted to the chairman of the kreis council or to the city district mayor or to the GDR ambassador within 4 weeks after its reception. These persons have to make the final decision within 6 weeks. If this period cannot be observed, an interim notice has to be given.

Section 12
Reapplication
(1) Applications in line with this degree may be repeated after 6 months at the earliest, if the reasons that have led to the rejection of the application no longer exist.
(2) The repeated presentation of documents for the application that have already been submitted at an earlier date may be renounced if these documents are still valid.

Concluding Provisions
Section 13
Legal provisions necessary to implement this decree will be issued by the minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police.

Section 14
This decree comes into force on 1 January 1989.
Berlin, 30 November 1988
The GDR Council of Ministers
W. Stoph, chairman;
Dickel, minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police.

Central Democratic Bloc Meets on Local Elections
AU1612135588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Dec 88 p 1

[Excerpts] East Berlin (ADN)—On Tuesday [13 December] in Berlin the Central Democratic Bloc of the parties and mass organizations convened for a session under the rotational chairmanship of the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association and its chairman Fritz Dallmann. The common political and organizational tasks in preparation for the elections to kreis assemblies, city assemblies, city district assemblies, and municipal assemblies on 7 May 1989 were discussed. The representatives of the parties and mass organizations stated that it will be their concern to make the local elections a great social event in the 40th year of the GDR.

At the beginning of the session an informative report by Joachim Herrmann, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, on the domestic and foreign policy questions discussed at the Seventh SED Central Committee Session was accepted. Herrmann said that in preparation of the local elections a broad popular discussion will take place, which is characterized by our tested policy: Participate in working, in planning, in governing! [passage omitted]

The Central Democratic Bloc of the parties and mass organizations unanimously affirmed its full support for the decisions of the Soviet Union on disarmament and international security presented by Mikhail Gorbachev at the 43d session of the UN General Assembly and for the new initiatives to improve the international situation. These proposals in their entirety are of practically historic importance and are suited to provide a new, strong impetus to the process of disarmament, which has been initiated by the INF Treaty. The citizens of the GDR and its political parties and organizations welcome these proposals because they also correspond to their vital interests and have been shaped with their active participation.

Now NATO Should Let Serious Deeds Follow

The expectation was expressed that the unilateral advance moves again made by the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact states to safeguard international security and consolidate peace will now be followed by serious deeds on the part of NATO. This particularly applies to the FRG and the parties ruling there. Never again must war start from German soil, but only peace. [passage omitted]

The following people took the floor during the discussion: Guenther Maleuda, chairman of the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany; Gerald Goetting, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany; Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany; Heinrich Homann, chairman of the National Democratic Party of Germany; Kurt Zahn, member of the Presidium and chairman of the FDGB National Executive Council; Volker Voigt, second secretary of the FDJ Central Council; Ilse Thiele, chairwoman of the Democratic Women's League of Germany; Hans Pischner, president of the GDR Cultural League; Lothar Kolditz, president of the National Council of the GDR National Front; and Fritz Dallmann, chairman of the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 1-13 Dec

AU1612165888 [Editorial report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 2 to 14 December reports the following appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses):

The following Politburo members and candidate members spoke at the seventh Central Committee [CC] session in Berlin on 2 December: Hans-Joachim Boehme, Werner Eberlein, Siegfried Lorenz, Gerhard Mueller, Guenter Schabowski, Harry Tisch, and Werner Walde. Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer also spoke on the same occasion (3-4 Dec, pp 3-16)

The following Politburo members and candidate members attended kreis delegates conferences in the GDR on 3 and 4 December: Hermann Axen, Horst Dohlus, Werner Eberlein, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Egon Krenz, Werner Krolikowski, Inge Lange, Siegfried Lorenz, Erich Mueckenberger, Gerhard Mueller, Guenter Schabowski, Gerhard Schuerer, and Harry Tisch. (5 Dec, pp 1, 6-8)

Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB National Executive Council, and Politburo Candidate Member Gerhard Schuerer, attended the session of the FDGB National Executive Committee on the 1989 plan in Berlin on 5 December. (6 Dec, p 4)

The following Politburo members welcomed Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport on 7 December: Hermann Axen, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Erich Honecker, Guenter Mittag, Willi Stoph, and Harry Tisch. Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer was also present. (8 Dec, p 3)

Politburo member Guenter Mittag and Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer attended the talks between Erich Honecker and Raif Dizdarevic in Berlin on 7 December. (8 Dec, pp 1,3)

The following Politburo members paid farewell to Raif Dizdarevic at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport on 9 December: Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Erich Honecker, Heinz Kessler, Egon Krenz, Guenter Mittag, Horst Sindermann, and Harry Tisch. Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer was also present. (10-11 Dec, p 1)

The following Politburo members congratulated Interior Minister Friedrich Dickel on his 75th birthday in Berlin on 9 December: Erich Honecker, Egon Krenz, Heinz Kessler, and Erich Mielke.

The following Politburo members and candidate members attended kreis delegates conferences in the GDR on 10 and 11 December: Hermann Axen, Hans-Joachim Boehme, Werner Eberlein, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinsky, Werner Krolikowski, Siegfried Lorenz, Guenter Mittag, Gerhard Mueller, Margarete Mueller, Alfred Neumann, Guenter Schabowski, Gerhard Schuerer, Horst Sindermann, Willi Stoph, and Harry Tisch. (12 Dec, pp 1, 3-6)

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED CC and chairman of the GDR State Council, delivered the Politburo report at the seventh CC session in Berlin on 1 December. (2 Dec, pp 3-10)

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, hosted a dinner for PPR Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski in Berlin on 5 December. (6 Dec, p 3)

Hermann Axen, Politburo member and SED CC secretary, welcomed Ole Sohn, chairman of the Communist Party of Denmark, at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport on 12 December. (13 Dec, p 2)

Kurt Hager, Politburo member and SED CC secretary, chaired the session of the People's Chamber Public Education Committee in Berlin (date not given). (6 Dec, p 4)

Joachim Herrmann, Politburo member and SED CC secretary, attended a conference of the Central Democratic Bloc of the GDR parties and mass organizations in Berlin on 13 December. (14 Dec, p 1)

Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED CC Politburo and minister of national defense, received a delegation of the People's Liberation Forces from the People's Republic of Mozambique in Berlin on 1 December. (2 Dec, p 2) Kessler also received Army General Vadim Matrosov, deputy chairman of the USSR Committee for State Security and chief of the Main Directorate of border guard troops, in Berlin on 9 December. (10-11 Dec, p 2)

Politburo member Guenter Kleiber, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Nguyen Ky Cam, SRV minister of labor, war invalids, and social welfare, in Berlin on 9 December. (10-11 Dec, p 2)

Politburo member Egon Krenz attended the delegates conference at the "Wilhelm Pieck" Political Military School in Berlin on 8 December. (9 Dec, p 4) Egon Krenz received outgoing Bangladesh Ambassador Kaiser Hasan Morshed Ali for his farewell visit in Berlin on 12 December. (13 Dec, p 2) Egon Krenz attended the celebrations on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Youth and Thaelmann Pioneers in Belin-Marzahn on 13 December. (14 Dec, p 1)

Erich Mueckenberger, Politburo member and president of the German-Soviet Friendship Society, spoke at a conference of the society's Presidium in Berlin on 12 December. (14 Dec, p 2)

Guenter Schabowski, Politburo member, CC secretary, and first secretary of the Berlin Bezirk leadership, attended a meeting of representatives of the Berlin Bezirk groups of the friendly parties and the bezirk committee of the National Front in Berlin on 9 December. (10-11 Dec, p 6)

Inge Lange, candidate member of the SED CC Politburo, attended a reception given by Finnish Ambassador Arto Tanner on his country's national day, in Berlin on 6 December. (7 Dec, p 2)

Gerhard Mueller, candidate member of the SED CC Politburo and first secretary of the Erfurt Bezirk leadership, attended the Erfurt Bezirk leadership conference in Erfurt on 12 December. (13 Dec, p 2)

Karpati Confirms USSR Division Withdrawal

LD1812095888 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 18 Dec 88

[Text] Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati has confirmed that the Soviet Union will withdraw a full armored division from Hungary on the basis of the unilateral arms reduction announcement. The minister gave a statement to the television program newsreel after his return from the Sofia conference of the Warsaw Pact Defense Committee. He said that the Soviet Union would also reduce their air forces stationed in Hungary and that the troop withdrawal will also affect many sub-units [alegyseg].

MTI Reports on Karpati's Comments

LD1912143088 Budapest MTI in English 1305 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, December 19 (MTI)—The session of the Committee of Defence Ministers of the Warsaw Treaty member states recently held in Sofia was especially important, said Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati, Hungarian minister of defence, to Monday's edition of the Hungarian newspaper 'NEPSZABADSAG'.

Colonel-General Karpati went on to say that the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization had set out a proposal of great significance in Budapest in 1986 on the reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces deployed between the Atlantic Ocean and the Urals. 'Besides, we proposed that NATO and the Warsaw Treaty member states should exchange military data concerning the region. Unfortunately, we did not receive an answer for a long time, but some weeks ago, NATO unilaterally made information public without informing us in advance.

'At the Sofia session, we discussed and analysed this move and found that the data and comparisons made public by NATO were irrealistic. They do not take all components of the armed forces and armaments into consideration and give a biased picture about power relations, as if the Warsaw Treaty Organization had an edge in all fields. This, however, is not true.

'The data made public by NATO can by no means be regarded as a realistic basis for talks. To facilitate the starting of genuine talks next year, we looked into the facts concerning power relations and decided to go public soon with our findings. According to our calculations, in the global sense there is a balance of power in Europe between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO.

'In this context, we studied what steps were needed to bring our defence doctrine, set out in Berlin last year, into line with our political targets, and the military structure and armaments should also be in accord with this. We are working very hard on this. That is, we would like to eliminate the means for an unexpected attack.'

On the unilateral reduction in armaments and troops announced by Mikhail Gorbachev at the UN, the Hungarian minister of defence underlined:

'An armoured division is to be withdrawn from Hungary together with several supplementary units, and the airforce temporarily stationed here will also be reduced. This means a unilateral reduction.

Asked whether Hungarian forces would be reduced too, the colonel-general replied, 'Not now. A measure of this kind depends on the development of talks on arms and armaments in Europe. Should make [as received] headway there, Hungarian troops could also be reduced. We are seeking to reach agreements that apply to the forces of the Hungarian People's Army. A force of sufficient size, suitably trained for the defence of the Hungarian People's Republic in the long run, however, must be maintained.'

Official Terms Soviet Pullout 'Right Decision'

PM1512150988 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Dec 88 p 3

[Interview with Colonel Geza Sipos, deputy chief of the People's Army Main Political Directorate, by own correspondent A. Kaverznev: "Trust Will Save Peace"; date not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Budapest—A. Kaverznev, our correspondent in Budapest, met with Colonel Geza Sipos, chief of the Agitation and Propaganda Directorate and deputy chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Hungarian People's Army.

[Kaverznev] Tell me, Comrade Colonel, did the Soviet leadership's decision to withdraw six tank divisions plus some airborne and ground attack units from GDR, Czechoslovakian, and Hungarian territory take you by surprise?

[Sipos] The decision itself was no surprise to us because we had already been given separate advance notice. Not about the actual content of the statement or the number of troops to be withdrawn, but about the basic thrust of the statement.

The personnel demonstrated equally great interest not only in those sections of Comrade Gorbachev's speech which dealt with disarmament problems but also the comments on general political and economic questions. The tasks to be given to the Hungarian People's Army in connection with the withdrawal of the Soviet military units from Hungary will have to be determined, and it will also be necessary to decide what we have to do to maintain our country's security at the proper level. Of course, we shall have to assume certain duties which the Soviet troops used to perform.

It is very important to emphasize that we heard no extreme views on the troop withdrawal—neither excessive delight nor gloomy pessimism—during the discussions. On the one hand, we regard the withdrawal of 25 percent of the Soviet troops as part of the single process of reducing international tension. On the other, it is good that our country is among the first that the Soviet military units will be leaving, although we know very well that this will be quite a lengthy process.

[Kaverznev] In your opinion, what effect could the declared reduction in the number of armed forces have on the military equilibrium in Europe? Specifically, will Hungary's security not be diminished?

[Sipos] Because the question is addressed to me personally, I will give you my personal opinion. I am convinced that the Soviet side's decision will force NATO to respond. I welcome the reduction of arms from the viewpoint of the correlation of forces in Europe, too—this is a well-considered move, one which does not threaten to upset the balance of forces. In view of the existing asymmetry it could even be a good basis for talks in the future. Nor should the propaganda significance of the new Soviet initiative be dismissed.

The withdrawal of 50,000 Soviet troops from three European countries in no way diminishes the Warsaw Pact's defensive capability. This applies to Hungary's security, too. I am convinced that the withdrawal of the Soviet troops will not make Hungary more vulnerable. These steps have been considered a hundred times, a thousand times over. This is the right decision.

[Kaverznev] Incidentally, I have heard the opinion expressed that the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary add nothing to the country's defensive capability—in fact, quite the reverse, that they are to some extent a destabilizing factor. What do you say to this?

[Sipos] We can scarcely examine all aspects of that most complex question right now. Our history shows that there was a temporary need for Soviet troops on Hungarian territory. This gave a certain psychological confidence to people, who wanted to build socialism in our country. I hope that we have now reached such a stage in society's development and such a level of confidence in international relations that Hungary can set an example for other countries by reducing conventional, traditional arms. Meanwhile, a NATO country such as Italy could reciprocate. When the question of our security has arisen during the various talks, we have set out our position in these terms: Our motherland's security is safeguarded not by the Soviet troops temporarily stationed here but also by the policy in the spirit of the new political thinking which the socialist countries are pursuing.

In conclusion, there is one more point I want to make. We would like to maintain our military collaboration with our Soviet comrades at the old level and even strengthen it in some sectors—particularly in view of the recent decision. And when the time comes for us to bid farewell to the Soviet military units we will organize a ceremonial send-off and, as is customary between good friends, we will thank our Soviet comrades for their help and for the fact that they have taught us many things. Believe me, I do not say this only out of politeness.

Pozsgay Visits Austria, Meets Vranitzky

*LD1612232788 Budapest MTI in English
2230 GMT 16 Dec 88*

[Text] Vienna, December 16 (MTI)—On Friday, Minister of State Imre Pozsgay paid a visit to Vienna. He was accompanied by Jozsef Benyi, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky met the Hungarian politician.

Mr Pozsgay spoke appreciatively of the development of good-neighbourly relations between the two countries and the readiness for cooperation of the Austrian party. Mr Vranitzky stressed that Austria considers the progress of Hungarian changes favourable also from the point of view of its own interests, and follows with sympathy the implementation of the Hungarian reform based on the maintenance of political stability. He termed the relations with Hungary as excellent, and welcomed the considerable expansion of bilateral tourist traffic this year.

The minister of state held a discussion with Heinrich Neissek, minister of the Chancellery, on certain media policy and other political conditions for the preparation of the planned joint world expo. Mr Pozsgay met leading representatives of Hungarians living in Austria and of their organizations at the Hungarian Embassy in Vienna.

Pozsgay on Relations With Austria

*LD1812004688 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1830 GMT 17 Dec 88*

[Excerpts] Vienna: Imre Pozsgay, who was today taking part in a consultation in Kecskemet, last night was still in Vienna, where he met Hungarians living in Austria. The venue of the exchange of views was the building of the Hungarian Embassy, from where Julia Tardos reports:

[Begin recording] [Tardos] [passage omitted] Imre Pozsgay, minister of state, awaits and replies to the questions asked by Hungarians here. Old Hungarian dwellers who, by virtue of Trianon, have been abandoned by the country, and Hungarians of'45,'56, and later, who live far from their native land voluntarily—they asked the questions and the minister of state replied.

[Pozsgay] This conversation has convinced me of the fact that this Magyardom has a very great capacity; its spiritual achievement is outstanding, and it is very loyal to its homeland. I would like it if we could create political conditions in which loyalty to the administration and the policies could strengthen.

[Tardos] You also had a discussion with Chancellor Franz Vranitzky during this short space of a few hours.

[Poszgay] He made no secret of the fact that Austria is interested in a balanced, but resolutely progressive, Hungarian reform which would be realized amid the conditions of political stability.

[Tardos] Tell me, what was your impression, do we still have any political capital, be it among the compatriots living here or among the politicians, such as Chancellor Vranitzky?

[Pozsgay] I sensed confidence in every respect. Although they also voiced the intention and the thought that this confidence is built on political progress. And there is no cause to wonder at this, for whoever initiates economic relations with Hungary would also like to know that this initiative will not become the victim of some kind of arbitrariness. We spoke about European cooperation. Here we agreed that Austria will not take, does not intend to take, any step which would harm the already evolved good relations. On the contrary, perhaps here, too, there are possibilities for building relations. [end recording]

Transylvanian Federation Established 17 Dec

LD1712201488 Budapest MTI in English 1840 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, December 17 (MTI)—Hungarian citizens of Transylvanian descent living in Hungary, cultural organizations, circles and associations set up the Transylvanian Federation in Budapest on Saturday.

The federation considers the indivisibility of the Hungarian nation a basic principle, and is convinced that the government and Hungarian society bear common responsibility for Hungarians living beyond the border to preserve and foster their native language and culture and the freedom to study their history and traditions. The independent, democratic organization is to follow with attention the situation of Transylvanian Hungarians.

Radio Bridge With Voice of America

LD1712124588 [Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 2130 GMT on 16 December 1988 carries a 90-minute radio bridge between Budapest Radio and Voice of America. The participants on the Hungarian side are Imre Pozsgay, MSZMP Politburo member and minister of state; political scientists Attila Agh and Csaba Gombar, and economist Laszlo Lengyel; on the VOA side are economist Janos Horvath; Miklos Radvanyi, associate of the Congressional Library; and political scientist Charles Gati. The announcer says that the program is being broadcast unamended.

Following some introductory remarks by Horvath, in which he notes that Hungarian-U.S. relations are good, and that Hungary enjoys a good reputation in the United States, Gati remarks that Hungary needs Western help for economic success. In order to bolster the West's confidence in its political system, he says, it is necessary for Hungary to adopt a multiparty system.

Pozsgay continues this point with the following remarks:

"My opinion is that Hungary, the whole of central Eastern Europe, need the trust that opens the way toward a more successful, more effective economic cooperation. My friend Laszlo Lengyel will speak about the economic background to this, as well as about issues relating to CEMA. Here, however, I would like to make one observation. I believe that the unification of the Western economy, including Europe, is a further challenge in this Eastern European and central European crisis, and unfortunately today, these countries can still only answer this challenge separately. And the way to the breakthrough, it appears, will only be found separately.

"We are now more fortunate in the conduct of this program, because we have behind us the New York speech by Soviet President and party General Secretary Gorbachev, and all of its lessons. And one can see in the framework of the Soviet reform that a world picture is evolving which will be right for us, and hopefully for the United States, too. In this situation Hungary can really only strengthen confidence if it can formulate the values of universal human political culture in its new institutions, first and foremost in a new constitution which will place at the focus and in the first chapter the cause and guarantees of human rights; a constitution that will open up the way for a sovereign citizen capable of autonomy, so that he himself might be an organizer, a repository of a new type of political development. "This can be a multiparty system, a pluralism, however it is worded—one thing is essential: The starting point should be human rights and their guarantee, the profile of a constitutional state which will also enable the aforementioned political effects. Thus, in a certain sense, this is an entry into the world of a new political culture. We hope that this will also have a confidence-building role. Such a constitution can shore up confidence, stability, and capital investment. But I have to add that a constitution is not sufficient for autonomy. That also requires, in economic relations, a reassessment of ownership and of international economic relations. Laszlo Lengyel can speak more expertly about this than I can."

The following exchange then ensues:

[Presenter] "Excuse me, one more question, if I may go back. Our U.S. friends mentioned with great emphasis the possibility of a multiparty system in Hungary as an important confidence-strengthening factor. That is how they see it. How do you see it? That only this kind of pluralism could strengthen confidence in the outside world? Or are there other ways to this?

[Pozsgay] "No one could wish that a party that undertakes a leading role and a governmental responsibility should itself write out the recipe for such an arrangement. But as a citizen, and as a member of the Hungarian Government, part of whose responsibility is that citizens should be satisfied and should legitimize this regime with their approval, I cannot preclude such a trend either. What is more, I consider it to be inevitable sooner or later."

One of the VOA participants says: "Two weeks ago, during the session of parliament, in the corridors of parliament, Party General Secretary Karoly Grosz made a statement to a VOA reporter in which he said that yes, indeed, he supports the multiparty system. The next day, in a speech he delivered at the party aktiv, he said the opposite. The whole thing appears in the eyes of the West as if there were a text for the home audience and a text for the outside. What is your opinion on this?"

Poszgay replies: "In my opinion he was not contradicting either himself or our political intentions. Perhaps the question is—and here I, too, become uncertain, because it would be a pity to try and expatiate on other people's intentions—that, with his responsibility and authority as prime minister, he was really smoothing the way, including for world public opinion, toward such a pluralistic political arrangement. Now, however, he has to invest his own party, in its critical situation, with a self-awareness and a kind of political profile that will enable this party to be an initiator in the political struggles of the future. I believe that this was not a conclusive statement; it is a matter of internal political hesitation, which is naturally a concomitant of crucial political change such as this. Otherwise, my opinion continues to be that Hungary, if it treads a path leading to conciliatory consensus, to a common consensus, if it is this it chooses, then the multiparty system will be the political form of expression in culmination of such harmony."

The discussion continues with views exchanged on CEMA reforms and their prospects of success. Radvanyi complains that the debate is becoming too theoretical, and raises the question of police brutality against demonstrators in Hungary. One of the participants on the Budapest side interrupts to say that many demonstrations take place without police intervention, to which Radvanyi retorts that the police often intervene brutually when international public opinion is focussed elsewhere. Poszgay continues as follows:

"There is actually some uncertainty here. The uncertainty exists because there is a deficit of legitimacy in the country. This sounds a little scholastic, but I shall make my message practical.

"What is there to deny? I have seen demonstrations which were dispersed, and policemen with clubs in Paris, too. I saw this kind of thing with my own eyes. I have seen reports about the devastation wreaked by the National Guard over the Cambodia issue at Kent University in 1970, and so forth.

"The question is not this, but whether the people really approve of this activity, whether or not it regards it as legal, legitimate. And, since it is precisely this political practice and the institutions necessary for it which we have been lacking, there exists a kind of deficit. Obviously the world public and the domestic public are embarrassed about these phenomena. However, what we are speaking about is what decisions we make on the way toward a constitutional state.

"At the National Assembly session in December we wish to regulate precisely the right of assembly—moreover, I reiterate, while respecting all human rights requirements.

"I was in Switzerland recently. If you please, there the people's hair stands on end at the thought of introducing alternative military service, since national defense and the thought of safeguarding neturality belong so much to Switzerland's identity that any thought of alterantive military service is tantamount to high treason. Yet, according to international law, and human rights, this possibility ought to be given to people. Hungary is now preparing to give it.

"Thus, we are navigating between such hazards and drawing the world's attention to ourselves, precisely because we are opening up. And I would also factor this into what Professor Miklos Radvanyi rightfully mentioned as a fact. As regards what atrocities have happened, I believe that Hungary will also dare to admit these, for example, before the Council of Europe if it becomes a member, or if international organs examine them. This is where I really see the guarantee to be."

Asked whether Hungary could adopt the provisions of the UN human rights declaration into its constitution, Pozsgay replies:

"The Hungarian Constitution will adopt these human rights, naturally in accordance with the requirements of Hungarian constitutional law. I will add that Hungary signed the document of the international human rights accord, including Article No 41, which enables organizations outside our country, even international ones, to supervise the observance of human rights in Hungary. Possibly this is new information, in which case I am pleased to announce it."

Next, Gombar points out that young people feel that political parties are less important than direct pressure groups. Agh notes that a multiparty system is needed, not only to improve Hungary's image abroad, but also to improve the effectiveness of the political system.

Asked about the U.S. expectations of Hungary, Radvanyi points out that nothing is laid down in this respect; however, in order for the American people to be mobilized in support of Hungary positive political changes are needed.

The discussion then switches to official policy on the Hungarian opposition. The following exchange takes place:

[Radvanyi] "State Minister Pozsgay, in May I think, declared that he is willing to receive the opposition, that is —the various groups of the democratic opposition, together. That is— that he should discuss with them together the problems which exist, and listen to these various groups. Now, what happened in reality is that this joint meeting with the state minister did not come about, despite the fact that the various groups of the democratic opposition asked for it several times. What happened was that the state minister received the representatives of one of two opposition groups separately.

"My question is: Does this kind of tactic represent the introduction of a new salami tactic in Hungary as regards the democratic opposition? Or, was it simply that the state minister did not have time to hold such a meeting?

[Pozsgay] "It is difficult to debate with partners who are so well up, who are so precisely informed. Professor Radvanyi gave a completely faithful description of the earlier plans. And really, it is true that these have not yet been accomplished.

"I think that I myself underestimated the difficulties on the path to such a meeting when I made such declarations. The intention has not changed. What has happened in reality is that I had briefing talks with the representatives of various alternative or opposition groups. This, however, ultimately remained in the realms of mutual information, for we could not agree what publicity we should give to such a meeting in the conditions of the present official system and press law. I had to appreciate also that the opposition groups and the various alternative organizations cannot go into some kind of undercover or hidden pact with the government. That is— it is more a question of the difficulties of preparations, rather than a change in intentions. I understood that they do not wish to make a separate agreement, and I understand also that they do not wish to hold talks which excluded any publicity.

"We are working on this now, that the possibility of this, too, should take place. There is no question of salami tactics."

Next, the participants return to the topic of the multiparty system and its possible benefits. The following discussion ensues:

[Horvath] "Our view, and the view in the outside world, is that we equate pluralism and stability. There is stability, lasting stability in a country, if the government enjoys the trust of the people, if it is built on the trust of the people. If this trust of the people is not there, stability is a kind of discipline which no one ends when it will end, what kinds of tensions will follow, and how it could explode.

[Pozsgay] "That is our problem, Professor, that is precisely what we would like to extricate ourselves from, since the bounds of stability are so fragile that when there is a debate, the entire country trembles, since it is not only pluralism with which we have a problem, but also with society perceiving even debates within the leadership as betrayal. A system of political institutions which has one sole point of suspension fills the citizens with fear if a debate emerges up there, precisely at this point of suspension. We are now feeling the pressure from this, in our own party, and in pulbic opinion, as well.

[Horvath] "I believe that this is so within the party, and perhaps others, too, think that a monopolistic system is the only stability. However, perhaps you would rethink whether this might be the opinion of citizens in a wider sense.

[Pozsgay] "This, too, has to be rethought; we do not have any knowledge about this, either.

[Horvath] "Hungary has good experience of this. In the post-1945 events, a great Hungarian solidarity came about, in a coalition, a multiparty system, and resources were mobilized for the economic reconstruction, the stabilization of the forint, and many other things. Internationally, Hungary enjoyed such esteem from Moscow to Washington, precisely because there was pluralism, and the various sections of the nation rallied its forces."

Pozsgay adds: Professor, you have said what I would have said. So I only add that I, too, am of the opinion that stability lies not in staying put, and not in conservatism."

Following up on the theme of the multiparty system and reform, Gati says the following: "Csaba Gombar says that in the protoparties there are in reality one or two thousand active members. I do not doubt this. That is indeed the case. And that for the time being there are no mass demands. Unfortunately this is a very bad sign. This means that there is no trust in the Hungarian political system. So, they do not think that Imre Pozsgay will remain in power for a long time, or that it will really be tolerated that other parties, other organizations should also take part in political life.

"On the other hand, if Csaba Gombar is right, that this is a very bad sign, then why are these parties not allowed really to take a more active part in political life?

"Well, these are the debating topics. And the question, on the other hand, is a fundamental question, and I would like to put it to Imre Pozsgay mainly. It is this: It is true that a government party can not be expected to give up its power, and no one seriously thinks this, and cannot contemplate it. The question, in practical terms, as I see it, is whether the MSZMP will be the first communist party in the world which, out of its own good will, will share its power, perhaps in the following way: by keeping its leading role in the fields of foreign affairs and defense, and on the other hand introducing a real, a true pluralism, within a multiparty system, in economic, social, and domestic political issues. In my opinion this can be realized institutionally. And today in the Gorbachev era this would be a resolvable, realistic concept. What support would this meet with among the members of the MSZMP Central Committee?"

Poszgay replies: 'I said earlier that the situation is proreform. Or if I did not say it then I say it now. What this means is that the leading party which is responsible for government can offer power-sharing as a bargaining counter, not in fact voluntarily, in the original sense of the word, but under the pressure of this kind of crisis. It does not have any other alternative in this situation. This is not to underrate those party members who, from rational consideration and national commitment, reach this conclusion personally, too. And there are a fair number of such people in the MSZMP.

"The picture sketched by my friend Professor Karoly Gati projects the picture of a coalition which recommends rather a conciliatory form. I can appreciate this. A conciliatory form which, in a confused transitional world, sees the condition for the emergence of a reasonable, rational coalition as lying not in free elections, but in a consensus created within a sort of electoral college.

"In connection with your previous remark, however, let me just say this: Csaba Gombar perhaps did not give sufficient emphasis to this, because it was not this that he was dealing with, but these alternative formations, proto parties, are not rushing into proclaiming themselves as parties. I think he mentioned this. So, here one can see that they also are thinking and considering, and I see this already as a partner-like relationship, even if this partnership was not concluded in the rooms of the minister of state. In due course these partnerships will come into existence at the most diverse negotiating levels. I can accept this conciliatory form. Its practical realization will be at least as much a political struggle as was the path that we have taken this far. I have to say this as well."

Next, Agha says that it is easier for the VOA side to criticize the Hungarian situation than it is to change it. Radvanyi replies that it is not U.S. impatience but the impatience of the Hungarian people that matters.

Gati says that socialist pluralism, just as the term socialism, involves terminological chaos. Both Hungary and Romania call themselves socialist. He praises the freedom of the press in Hungary.

One of the Hungarian participants says that all those in the Budapest studio accept that pluralism is the desirable final outcome in Hungary; what they fear is the transition to it, which might involve chaos or even an explosion.

Lengyel says that the big problem is that there is no program regarding whether there will be scope for private economic activity and other basic economic issues. Either the government and the opposition groups find a coalition program, or the opposition groups must come up with a program, but so far no one has, and this is why the opposition groups have little mass support and that the same can be said about the party.

Radvanyi says: "I feel that Hungarian society has the will and the ability to participate more actively in political life. I do not think that there is an apathy and that this will and dynamism are not present.

"Let us take for example the question of FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats], where, as I see it, particularly since May, every endeavor of the MSZMP is directed at crushing and intimidating FIDESZ, and being able to strike at FIDESZ. I feel that FIDESZ is one of those organizations—particularly because here it is a question of young people, the generation which was born after 1956, or grew up after 1956. The other thing is that here in FIDESZ, it is not just the young intelligentsia who are taking part, but also a large part of the working class young who are participating quite actively. So, here it could be said that in reality, a general youth movement is developing."

Pozsgay replies as follows: "I would only say how much things change daily. Please look at today's NEPSZABADSAG when it arrives in Washington. This is the party central paper. It carries a detailed report about the talks between KISZ and FIDESZ, expressing the standpoints of both in a correct and clear manner. So, things are not going in the direction of repression. I believe that it is the direction that is important: cooperation or pretence on the political stage.

"If I could also use a metaphorical picture, it is as if we wanted to go across a whirling, swift mountain river. The footbridge only reaches to the middle, we have got that far. Then, we can only proceed on stones, and one cannot walk easily on stones. Here, there will in reality be a stretch where we must cross quickly. It is for this that the capacity for decision must be consolidated, according to the requirements of stability. But it is really partnership which is needed, and reform movement and dialogue."

Asked whether this is acceptable, Horvath says: "It is acceptable. I would add that of course this sounds good, this is one kind of (?manifestation) of the diagnosis. What continues to be a cause for anxiety is that those who ultimately take decisions, that is the party Central Committee and Politburo, that is on the part of the political elite, this kind of analytical approach cannot really be experienced. They turn most energy toward legitimizing and maintaining the status quo."

Poszgay comes in at this point: "Professor, let me reply to this once again. I do not wish to be pushy, but I have precisely the most direct and mature experiences about this elite. Without doubt, it does also contain those signs, those phenomena, to which you refer. But, take something else into consideration. What force is needed for such an elite to conquer its own fear, too? Well, do not leave this out of consideration either. Every experience of political history shows that those who step onto the path of power-sharing must live through the fact that the first thing that those who get a part of this power will do will be to turn it against those who give it. In this case, strength and resolve are truly needed.

"I belong to those who say that despite this, this is the only path that can be followed, for this corresponds to the national program. But, we must also all be familiar with the natural history of this elite."

Gati speaks of the danger of an explosion in Hungary, and notes that the withdrawal of Soviet forces is fraught with possible problems as well as solutions. Horvath notes that a Finland or an Austria is more useful to the USSR than a semicolonial state.

On this point, and in conclusion of the program, Pozsgay says the following:

"I would like to say just a few words to recall that Hungarian foreign policy in recent times has demonstrated that it is capable of sovereign decisions. I would like to add at the same time that I agree with Gyula Illyes, who professed that the foreign policy of small nations is their domestic policy. As is is given to us that we can live in a nation which is capable of action and willing to act, we must act in a decisive and exemplary manner in our domestic policy.

"Finally, I was glad to note that the policy on emigres and Hungary's relations with the emigres are very sensitive topics for the Hungarians living in the United States. Even if this occasionally testifies to a lack of ability to engage in a dialogue, it certainly must be appreciated as a need. Let me add, in this conversation today we can, I think, be satisfied with once thing, and we can leave the studio with the idea of a general consensus. This is the fact that there has been an acceptance and admission on both sides that on these political issues it is the people who must decide that the people are capable of governing themselves."

Szuros Speaks on Foreign Policy 'Contradictions'

LD1712181888 Budapest MTI in English
1712 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, December 17 (MTI)—NEPSZABADSAG carries in its Saturday issue the contribution of Matyas Szuros, secretary of Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

Mr Szuros states, "Our foreign policy—contrary to the ups and downs of our internal development—has recently continuously served our country's interests, contributed to its favourable international image, and strengthened the cohesion of society by gaining the support of a broad strata of public opinion.

"We maintain settled relations with every great power, the leading states of the most important regions and, with the exception of Romania, with our neighbours. This has enabled our foreign policy to express and represent our Hungarianness, Europeanism and socialist social endeavours."

The Central Committee secretary points out, "In future we shall also have to face the possibility of our external economic interests coming into conflict with certain traditional, but actually untenable political categories and a distorted concept of interests. Our moves to establish relations with the state of Israel and the Republic of Korea indicate our intention to ease these contradictions through breaking with dogmas, on the basis of foreign political reason and realism."

Following, Matyas Szuros says, "Our foreign policy has the essential and long-term duty to pay attention to the position of Hungarian minorities living in the neighbouring countries. Our aim is that the individual and collective rights of ethnic minorities be recognized and practiced under international human rights cooperation. We strive to strengthen, on the basis of the dual bond of the nationalities, the spirit of understanding, confidence and cooperation with all neighbouring countries also in this respect. Our aspiration is the same in the Hungarian-Romanian relation, where the aggravating situation of the Hungarian minority, the decade-long silence, and Romania's negative attitude have made the problem a source of palpable home political tension. We represent a realistic and responsible though firm position. We will continue to consistently express our opinion about Romania's Hungarian population before both domestic and international public opinion. To settle the problem, we wish to avail ourselves of all elements of the foreign political arsenal, including the possibility of substantive bilateral talks, which cannot be successful without the good will and spirit of compromise of the other side," Matyas Szuros says.

The contribution continues: "However, we cannot abandon support of international political publicity either, as the issue here is basically not a bilateral debate. It was not our idea to 'internationalize' the problem, but responsible European political factors, including our socialist partners, regard it as a hazard in international cooperation and stability. Their action and the reaction of international organizations, parliaments, governments, parties and the media appear to be indispensable to control the most extremist political manifestations of Romania.

"In the spirit of openess, we foster ties with Hungarians beyond the borders who are not members of a national minority and live mainly in the West. We do so because we consider them part of the total Hungarian population, along with the Hungarian minorities of the neighbouring countries.

"Hungary may not only be a major link in the development of East-West economic cooperation and goods exchange, but may also be useful as a testing ground for the reduction of conventional troops and armaments in Europe. This is one reason why we welcome and highly appreciate the speech of Mikhail Gorbachev at the New York General Assembly of the United Nations Organization, in which he announced the unilateral Soviet disarmament measures which also affect Hungary.

Relying on the international confidence shown towards Hungary, we can continue to promote the approachment of such decisive European political schemes as the development of European integrational process and the planned setting up of a common house of Europe," [quotation marks as received] Matyas Szuros says.

National Assembly To Convene 20 Dec; Agenda
LD0212182188 Budapest MTI in English
1604 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, December 2 (MTI)—During its Friday session, the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic convened the next session of the National Assembly for 10 A.M. Tuesday, December 20.

The Council of Ministers proposes that parliament should discuss the bills concerning:
1/ The amendment to the law on the classification of ministries
2/ The 1989 budget of the Hungarian People's Republic
3/ The amendment to the law on personal income tax
4/ The amendment to the law on duties
5/ The social security fund
6/ Contributions to vocational training and the vocational training fund
7/ The amendment to the civil code
8/ The investment of foreign capital in Hungary
9/ The amendment to the Constitution
10/ The bills on the rights of assembly and association

The Presidential Council revoked the law decree on fire arms and munition. A final decision on the issues will be taken by the National Assembly.

Under the Law on Business Associations coming into force on January 1, 1989, the Presidential Council amended the law decree concerning the bankruptcy procedure and the court registration of companies.

It also modified the law decree on the treasury bill, and decided on questions of personnel.

Dr Ferenc Petrik, who was elected deputy chief justice of the Supreme Court, took the official oath in front of Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council.

Independent Trade Union Deputy's Meeting Opens
LD1712212088 Budapest MTI in English
1925 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, December 17 (MTI)—The 1st deputy's meeting of the Democratic Trade Union of Scientific Workers (TDDSZ), with more than 4,000 members, opened at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences on Saturday.

President Pal Forgacs stressed that the formation of the TDDSZ had increased readiness for self-organization and the demand of a more resolute formulation of interests. At present 4 independent trade unions are in operation.

The provisional board elected in May reported that the TUDSZ was holding talks with the representatives of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (SZOT), as well as with TUDOSZ, a second trade union of scientific workers belonging to SZOT. The World Federation of Trade Unions has not yet given a response to their proposal on cooperation, but delegates were sent to the deputy's meeting by the International Federation of Free Trade Unions, the World Federation of Labour, the International Federation of Free Teachers' Trade Union, the AFL-CIO, the Trade Union of Austrian Public Employees, the Italian General Workers' Confederation (CGIL), the Japanese Trade Union General Council (SOHYO), and the Trade Unions of American, French and British Teachers.

The TDDSZ made public its draft programme. Ivan T. Berend, president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, stressed he considers several points of the draft programme of nationwide value and exemplary for the bodies and members of the academy. He said the ideas of the independent democratic trade unions are supplementary to the endeavours of the leading bodies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Oleg Rumjancev, head of the Moscow Democratic Perestroyka Club, conveyed the greetings of the Soviet alternative organizations. In his message to the TDDSZ General Assembly, Lech Walesa, leader of Polish Solidarity, also welcomed the membership of the independent Hungarian trade union.

The TDDSZ deputy's meeting will continue on Sunday.

Independent Trade Union Adopts Program
LD1812185488 Budapest MTI in English
1740 GMT 18 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, December 18 (MTI)—On the second day of its delegate's meeting in Budapest on Sunday, the Democratic Trade Union of Scientific Workers (TDDSZ) adopted the draft programme of the trade union. According to the document, the TDDSZ is to continue to support the renewal of the Hungarian trade union movement. It is stressed that the level of infrastructure necessary for scientific research and higher education should be brought closer to the developed countries', with a parallel reduction of differences between scientific and higher educational institutes.

Independent TU Ends General Assembly

LD1912000388 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 18 Dec 88

[Text] [Presenter] Peter Laszlo reports on the 2-day general assembly of the Democratic Trade Union of Scientific Workers [TDDSZ], which has now ended:

[Laszlo] In a statement, the trade union, which was the first to be founded independently of SZOT, demands that scientific life be made independent of power. In one of the delegates' meeting's resolutions, it is considered absolutely necessary that teachers and researchers, who have been disadvantaged owing to their political conviction and scientific views, be rehabilitated. In another document it is proposed that the four Hungarian trade unions independent of SZOT form a coordinating committee to jointly represent the collectively accepted objectives. A stand is also taken favoring the interest-protection organizations creating a national strike fund.

At the international press conference following the 2-day consultations, one of the members of the newly elected leadership justified the TDDSZ taking stands on issues affecting others in addition to its members, on the principle of social solidarity. In the same spirit, a resolution was adopted which objects to some sentences in the speech delivered on Friday in Miskolc by party General Secretary Karoly Grosz. On behalf of the delegates' meeting, they resolutely reject, for example, the part of the speech which recommends the assertion of political viewpoints during university and college admissions.

In the open letter drafted to the National Assembly, the Democratic Trade Union of Scientific Workers requests that after next week's budget debate the deputies inform their constituents about how much money—and to the detriment of which spheres—is ensured for building the waste water-purifiers attached to the Bos-Nagymaros dam system.

In reply to the Polish Solidarity trade union's telegram greeting the delegates' meeting, the meeting took a stand in favor of the universality of trade union freedom rights.

Government Spokesman Holds Press Conference

AU1912100988 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 15 Dec 88 pp 1, 3

[Report by correspondent Maria Lakatos: "Council of Ministers Holds Session: The Government Approved the Credit Policy Guidelines for 1989; Fewer Cars To Be Supplied Out of Turn;—Hungary Is Ready To Receive the Wounded From Armenia's Earthquake; Press Conference by Government Spokesman Gyorgy Marosan"—in Budapest, on 14 December]

[Excerpts] At its session on 14 December, the Council of Ministers discussed the budget of the people's economy for 1989 and adopted the financial and credit policy guidelines for 1989.

The government discussed reports concerning the introduction of a uniform enterprise profit tax and simplifying the monetary system, and the government proposed modifying the law on savings accounts and savings cooperatives.

The Council of Ministers made a decision on reducing the sales of private cars supplied out of turn [from regular supply schedule].

The government approved the report on the state and development of the Hungarian printed press and decided that a proposal should be submitted to the next government session on the establishment of an Information Policy Steering Committee.

Following the session, the Council of Ministers spokesman Gyorgy Marosan informed the press and answered journalists' questions. [passage omitted]

NEPSZAVA: You said that if the parliament failed to approve the budget, this could lead to serious consequences. This is a real danger. What are those serious consequences, and has the government worked out a so-called crisis budget, or a fourth alternative for this case?

[Marosan] The government session did not deal with the tasks in case the National Assembly fails to approve the budget. However, several people said that this would present problems in the smooth advancement of economic processes, particularly in the first months of next year. I think that the relevant speaker on the National Assembly agenda will deal with this issue. [passage omitted]

FIGYELO: At its next session, the Council of Ministers will propose the establishment of an information policy steering committee. What tasks is this committee expected to fulfill?

[Marosan] As is well known, Minister of State Imre Pozsgay is in charge of Hungarian Television, Radio, and the MTI. In order to carry out this guiding activity, Imre Pozsgay needs such an information policy steering committee which will be regarded as an advisory body. [passage omitted]

DUNANTULI NAPLO: Traffic always increases before Christmas. Has the government discussed possibly redirecting the tourists shopping in Vienna back to Hungary?

[Marosan] The government did not deal with this issue. However, in the past, various government bodies analyzed this problem and thought of various ways of directing these shoppers to Hungary. No concrete decisions have been made yet. I think these decisions will be made by the first quarter of 1989. [passage omitted]

Human Rights Anniversary Examined

AU1612105188 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 14 Dec 88 p 1

[Editorial by Tibor Varkonyi: "Law and Pop" Music]

[Excerpts] The lights on the great chandeliers went out, the noise subsided at the Chailiot Palace, and the guests went home. This year, the world has celebrated the day of human rights with greater pomp and broader publicity than ever. The reason is obvious: Exactly 40 years ago, the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and although the member countries did not ratify this declaration simultaneously, and some even delayed its ratification, it has been adopted by the majority of the countries of the world. Very few governments today are questioning the validity of this declaration by claiming that adherence to it is their strictest internal affair and no one has the right to interfere in that. [passage omitted]

The greatest change took place in the attitude and evaluation of the socialist countries in respect to human rights. One cannot even say that the previous propaganda slogans were empty, slogans according to which the socialist countries have nothing to make up for because they have provided constitutional guarantees for the right to work, proper nutrition, and equal wages. The socialist countries have extensive undeniable achievements in this respect, only the implementation of these achievements has been somewhat distorted. The paternalistic state wanted to act everywhere instead of the citizens: It conducted formal votes, but told the citizens in advance whom to elect, and one could talk and write freely, but the state told one what one should say and write.

Overgrown bureaucracy and the intruding and dominating interference on the part of the authorities were the factors that hindered the implementation of everyday rights. Truth could be found only on the other side of the desk. [passage omitted]

There has never been so much effort to create an immaculate constitutional state in Hungary as there is today. Imre Pozsgay's parliamentary speech, the following press conference, Kalman Kulcsar's declarations, and reactions to all these prove that we can now face the world without feeling ashamed. We are not discreetly hiding the anniversary of human rights, we do not voice canting phrases so that everyone should sweep before his own door; on the contrary, our doors and windows are wide open, and we are already doing things and have nothing to hide. [passage omitted]

It was precisely on this 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that we, and some of our friendly neighbors—like the Soviet Union and Poland—spoke without any shame about the human rights prevailing in our countries. The world attributed great importance to the fact that, this time, Academician Sakharov and Walesa were both on Mitterrand's side when appreciating the achievements made so far and encouraging further action.

However, we should not hide the fact that this is not a universally accepted concept throughout the socialist world. Reactions differ. Certain capitals permitted modest demonstrations, only to declare the organizers of these demonstrations as "enemies" the following day. Other capitals called individual human rights "peripheric"—Bucharest did that—and continued to voice the old, boring slogans that have never represented reality. It is no wonder that this is their philosophy, since they deny the minorities who speak a different language to openly accept their nationality, to read newspapers in their mother tongue, and even more, to freely choose names for their children. We are hardly mistaken in claiming that our dispute with this country derives not so much from our different everyday political concept as from the fact that, in Hungary, certain rights can already be asserted in a democratic way, and over there, it is the exclusive right of the authority to delimit what is permitted and what is forbidden. However, let us not dwell on details because this has a significance beyond our subject matter and directly affects the image of socialism.

Fortunately, the world is advancing in a different direction, and stating this was one of the great achievements of this year's remembrance. [passage omitted]

Official Interviewed on Dam, Water Purification

LD1912001288 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 18 Dec 88

[From "The Week" program]

[Text] [Presenter] The National Assembly's committee supervising the Bos-Nagymaros construction work was formed on Thursday. We have asked the chairman of the ad-hoc committee to come before the cameras of "The Week" program:

[Question] I feel that you will have most of your problems with environmental protection, with the purification of waste water. It is enough if we just put some figures alongside one another. Until 1995, there are 5.8 billion forints for building the waste water purification works. According to certain calculations, however, 32.5 billion forints would be necessary. So, there is scarcely 18 percent of the money.

[Answer] The session of our Settlement-Development and Environmental Protection Committee was held just this week, and there, the representative of the Environmental Protection Ministry said that the conditions, from the aspect of sources, of implementation according to schedules, are ensured for 1989.

[Question] Yes, but I am talking about the entire period of construction.

[Answer] Obviously, in 1990 and afterwards, far more money will have to be devoted to the implementation of the waste water purification program, since the plans will be available then. I trust that the program will be completed by the targeted deadline, at least from the Hungarian side.

[Question] The completion of damming is planned for 1992. What will happen if there is not enough money for building the waste water purification works? What will you do then?

[Answer] The National Assembly resolution words it clearly: The condition for peak operation is the implementation of the waste water purification program on both sides, thus, in the entire water catchment area. If this program is not completed, there will be no peak operation.

[Question] Thus, will you halt the operation, or more precisely, will you not allow it?

[Answer] The power station will be able to function at basic operation, but not at peak operation.

[Question] You have mentioned two countries, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. There are reports that there is not enough money either in Czechoslovakia to build the water purification works. What will happen if these works are completed in our country, but they are not completed there? The Danube will be polluted, dirty, just the same.

[Answer] The National Assembly also obligated the government to initiate talks with the Czechoslovak side, and that they should lay down, in an intergovernment agreement, the program for waste-water purification on the other sided, too. Thus, as I said, the conditions for peak operation is the implementation of the program on both sides; in so far as this were not completed on the Czechoslovak side, this condition would not be fulfilled.

[Question] Bluntly, in that case permission would not be given for peak operation to commence.

[Answer] Exactly.

[Question] What will happen if—and this is only a supposition—it is said that, if you please, we put several hundreds of billions of forints into this power station, and you do not want to permit it owing to environmental protection? That would be wasteful.

[Answer] One of the National Assembly's decisions, and it was a very important decision, was that during further building and operation, ecological viewpoints must have priority. I believe that if we keep this principle in mind and this decision on which the government also agreed, since it, too, proposed that it be accepted, such questions will not possibly arise.

[Question] You are completely sure of this?

[Answer] The only thing I am sure of is what the National Assembly decided, as to which tasks it set. We can only be sure of the implementation when it has been completed.

Solidarity Leaders, Intellectuals Meet in Warsaw

Meeting Developments Detailed

LD1812124688 Hamburg DPA in German 1203 GMT 18 Dec 88

[Excerpts] (Warsaw) (DPA)—The leaders of the banned trade union Solidarity and more than 60 intellectuals met in Warsaw on Sunday to discuss opposition policy in Poland. They also want to establish a "Citizens' Council." At the start of the meeting, to which about 120 people had been invited, workers' leader Lech Walesa said that he expected the conference to produce more arguments for dealing with the government and new opposition initiatives. The philosopher Leszek Kolakowski, who has been living in Britain since 1968, is attending the conference as Walesa's guest. Kolakowski is visiting Poland for the first time since his emigration, which followed his expulsion from the party for revisionism. He arrived in Warsaw on Friday.

The conference opened with a report on preparations for the repeatedly postponed "roundtable" talks with government representatives. Walesa had stated several times last week that there was a good chance of the talks beginning soon; only the "dotting of the i's" remained. The main issue is the government's attitude toward the demand for trade union pluralism and the reinstatement of Solidarity. [passage omitted]

The opposition conference, which is taking place in church rooms, was attended by the Solidarity leaders, numerous academics and publicists as well as the Catholic publicist Jerzy Turowicz and Stanislaw Stomma, the film director Andrzej Wajda and the founder of the pacifist movement "Freedom and Peace," Jacek Czeputowicz.

Opposition Should 'Take Initiative'

LD1812222083 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2025 GMT 18 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 18 (TANJUG)—Solidarity President Lech Walesa met scores of Solidarity activists from all over Poland and independent Polish intellectuals in Warsaw today.

No official information was disclosed about the first uninterrupted large-scale conference of the opposition after martial law was proclaimed seven years ago.

Opposition circles reported that the conference is aimed at establishing a program for resolving Poland's socio-political and economic problems.

Walesa told the conference that the opposition should take the initiative for finding a way out of the national crisis and that it should set up a so-called citizens' council, of some 100 eminent personalities, to represent the opposition in "round table" negotiations on reconciliation.

The opposition sources said radical illegal organizations, such as the Confederation for Independent Poland and the militant solidarity, were not present at the conference.

However, they claimed that Lezlek Kolakowski, a dissident philosopher living in the West, attended the conference as a guest.

Aim: To Create Civic Committee

LD1812191988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 18 Dec 88

[Text] PAP has reported that in the cellars of the church in Zytnia Street in Warsaw a meeting took place between Lech Walesa, a group of representatives of the world of culture and science, and opposition activists. This was called a meeting with a group of intellectuals. The aim of the meeting was the creation of a civic committee attached to Lech Walesa.

'Tragic December' 1970, 1981 Events Commemorated

Szablewski Speaks in Gdansk

LD1612185588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Olgierd Pawlowski report]

[Text] Representatives of work enterprises and Gdansk residents gathered at 1430 today in front of the monument commemorating the tragic December events in Gdansk. Alojzy Szablewski, deputy chairman of the former Solidarity trade union of the Gdansk shipyard, addressed approximately 2,000 people who had gathered there. He recalled those December days and later said:

[Begin Szablewski recording] The measures taken during the last weeks prove that things are improving, that it will gradually be all right. The interenterprise Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity Commission dissociates itself from what happens sometimes in the streets of Gdansk. Let my words be heard on the air. This is a rally of a different nature to pay tribute to those who fell. Those who are against us, or who shout some unnecessary slogans, had better leave. [end recording]

Those gathered paid homage to the memory of the fallen with 1 minute's silence. Delegations of miners, the Ursus work force, and, of course, the Gdansk shipyard approached the monument. At the end of the rally those who had gathered sang Bogurodzica [old religious hymn] and the national anthem. Lech Walesa who was also present at the rally, firmly requested people to keep the peace and equally firmly dissociated himself from those who would like to breach the peace.

Trouble at Katowice Colliery Ceremony
LD1712125088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Excerpts] The 18th anniversary of the tragic December events on the coast were commemorated in Gdynia today. Flowers were laid at the monument to the fallen shipyard workers by a delegation of PRON Urban Council and also by representatives of the Komuna Paryska shipyard, the Commercial Seaport, Dalmor, Polish Ocean Lines, and other of the city's larger plants. Bunches of flowers were also laid by representatives of socio-political organizations in Gdynia and by young people.

A similar ceremony took place yesterday morning at the monument to the fallen shipyard workers in Gdansk, where shipyard workers and the people of Gdansk also met in the afternoon. Lech Walesa was present. [passage omitted] It was not like that yesterday in Silesia, unfortunately.

In the Katowice press, frontpage headlines: Flowers at the Wujek Colliery Gate; The Anniversary of the Tragic Events of 16 December 1981. Right next to that, the headline: Opposition Makes its Presence Felt at All Costs; and the question in TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA: Is this what accord is supposed to look like?

At the wall of the Wujek Colliery, which bears a tablet and where a memorial cross stands, the organizers of a march from the church of the Elevation of the Holy Cross in Katowice-(?Brynow) welcomed representatives of factory commissions of the former Solidarity trade union, who had arrived in Katowice from all corners of Poland. Since they had come, they had to make their presence felt somehow, shouting slogans which violated the solemnity of the moment and the place, DZIENNIK ZACHODNI writes. Neither the inscriptions on some banners nor the slogans uttered by the participants in the demonstration had much in common with paying homage to the memory of the miners who were killed 7 years ago. Demands, blackmail, incitement to hostility, and indiscriminate attacks on the authorities were out of tune with the candles burning at the foot of the tablet and the bunches of flowers, which were there to commemorate the events of 1981, the Katowice daily DZIENNIK ZACHODNI writes.

OPZZ Executive Committee Meets 16 Dec

Lodz Assembly Assessed
LD1612231088 Warsaw PAP in English 2235 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 16—The Executive Committee of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ held its first meeting on December 16 since the organization's third assembly in Lodz three weeks ago. The assessment of the course and the results of the assembly was treated at the meeting as the base for specifying the main guidelines of the organizations activities in the second part of its term preceding the second trade unions congress.

Trade unions consider the defence of working people's standards of living to be of crucial importance. The meeting made a point of early concluding a social agreement between the government and OPZZ which would guarantee the minimum level of real pays and allowances, and which would specify the amount of funds allocated for public consumption—health care, education, and culture.

Works carried out in the government-trade union team on the legal and economic system effectively protecting the interests of workers employed in enterprises which are liquidated or reorganized should be quickly completed. It was emphasized that the trade union movement must be acquainted with the programme of structural changes in economy and must insist that liquidation be treated as the last resort.

Participation in improving the law which regulates the status of trade unions and issues of crucial significance for workers and labour veterans were ranged among the organization's urgent tasks.

Alfred Miodowicz presented the background and assumptions of his television debate with Lech Walesa. This conversation, he said, was necessary for extending a link between us and the Solidarnosc-oriented opposition, the link which is indispensable in the difficult social and economic situation. Therefore the discussion was, in its very assumptions, non-confrontational. More contacts are needed, Miodowicz said.

The Polish Television has proposed to Lech Walesa that televised debates be continued, this time between teams of experts. Lech Walesa proposed meetings of three groups of experts: for political, public, and economic affairs, and had announced that the list of them would be conveyed until December 19. The committee has given recommendations to the OPZZ secretariat for taking adequate steps connected with these talks.

Talks With Walesa Group Prepared
LD1712165688 Warsaw International Service in English 1200 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] The executive of the National Trades Union Alliance has stated that the television discussion between the alliance chairman, Alfred Miodowicz, and Lech Walesa had paved the way for further dialogue and rapprochement.

Alliance officials have informed that Polish Television had suggested to Lech Walesa that a discussion of this type should be continued in front of the cameras, this time a group of experts. Mr Walesa has proposed meetings of three such groups to discuss political, social, and economic matters and said he would announce the names of the persons delegated to these discussion on Monday [19 December].

The National Trades Union Alliance Executive has instructed the Secretariat of the alliance to start preparations to such discussions.

Urban Explains Wrong Information on FSO Remark

AU1912115188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Dec 88 p 8

[Statement by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban: "An Amendment to the FSO PZPR Factory Committee's Explanation"]

[Text] In the 13 December issue of TRYBUNA LUDU, there was a letter from Comrade Marian Krawczykowski, first secretary of the PZPR factory committee of the FSO car plant in Warsaw. Comrade Krawczykowski wrote that I was wrong to say at my Rome press conference that the FSO PZPR factory committee had accused FSO Industry Minister Wilczek of Stalinism, because the committee had never used any such term in any of its documents and discussions with Minister Wilczek. He wrote: "Perhaps the reason for the misunderstanding is that one of the unauthorized bulletins distributed throughout FSO contained such a description, which defames Minister Wilczek and distorts the party committee's stance." Comrade Krawczykowski says that the factory committee has stopped the distribution of this bulletin.

I am glad that everything has been sorted out, but I do not want anyone to think that a government spokesman bases his information on a note and does not know who issued it. Therefore, I hereby say that this note was a photocopy of a bulletin headlined "FSO information bulletin issued on the initiative of the FSO PZPR factory committee" and was intended for internal use. The text to which I referred in Rome bears the title: "PZPR Factory Committee Information Bulletin." Nevertheless, I am very well aware of the fact that publications issued by party cells do not reflect the views of that cell in every single word and sentence.

Jerzy Urban, government press spokesman.

Industry Minister's Press Conference Reported

AU1412073188 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Dec 88 pp 1, 2

[Report on press conference by Mieczyslaw Wilczek, minister of industry, at the Ministry of Industry in Warsaw on 7 December]

[Text] The government press spokesman's remarks, given at his press conference last Tuesday [6 December], about the resignation of Edward Pietrzak, director of the FSO car plant in Zeran, has aroused understandable interest. Industry Miniyter Mieczyslaw Wilczek visited the car plant on 7 December, and presented his case during a 2-hour talk with the management and aktivs of the Zeran plant. He listened to the opinions of the workers. In the late afternoon, he reported on his talks at a press conference at the Ministry of Industry.

[Wilczek] At the FSO plant in Zeran, I had an opportunity to give the reasons why we have broken, or, to be more exact, postponed, the contract concerning a license to manufacture a new car. I explained the new government policy on the expansion of car production in Poland. This policy differs from previous policy. I expressed my own doubts. For example, I said that I do not understand why cars are manufactured in two separate locations in Poland. Signing the contract would have perpetuated this unfavorable arrangement.

I also said that I do not question the achievements of the plant and its work force, as well as their efforts, experience, and knowledge. I have driven every type of car produce by FSO, starting with the "Warszawa" and "Syrena" models, and was satisfied with them. I consider the license contract to be favorable, but signing it does not solve the problem. It does not answer the question when the average citizen will be able to purchase a car by installments.

First we would purchase the license, and then it would be necessary to find ways of exporting the vehicles in order to pay for them. And yet in the meantime, over 450,000 people in Poland have made down-payments for cars, which has to be respected. If the new contract were signed, the new model would have to be made available to these people.

It is not FSO's fault, it is the concept's fault. This concept was a bad one. We wanted to increase the production of medium-capacity cars and challenge the European big names. I think our chances of doing so are weak. I do not think we can compete in this sphere. After all, we do not have any prospects, no vision of the future. We cannot guarantee that whoever works well and earns good money will be able to simply walk into a showroom and buy a car.

What is it that we want? On the basis of the license purchased for the FSM car plant in Bielsko-Biala, we want to produce 600,000 cars a year, including the "Polonez" model, which should be manufactured as well. Of these 600,000 cars, let us assume that 100,000 will have to be exported. There would be 500,000 cars left for the domestic market, cars that are economical with gasoline. After all, the model produced in Bielsko-Biala "burns" 3-4 liters per 100 km. One must consider the fact that the capacity of our oil refineries is restricted, and we import crude oil for foreign currency.

I wish to make it clear that we still have not made any final decision. At FSO in Zeran, we arranged for the Zeran plant itself to work out a concept. We will simply look for better solutions. We proposed to the Fiat representatives that we would send a delegation to Italy in order to hold essential talks. I hope we will be able to reach a new contract in the coming months, and on the basis of the same credits.

In place of Director Pietrzak, I intend to appoint Jan Salomonczyk, currently first deputy director.

I think it is necessary to purchase a license for the manufacture of a series of engines, which has been agreed upon. This will make it possible to modernize the "Polonez" model. The same chassis is used for the production of ambulances. Various institutions and individuals will also want to buy a "Polonez." Finally, we have to modernize the production of delivery vehicles. I hope it is possible to combine the efforts of the FSO and FSM plants and those of the entire automotive industry in a way that is advantageous to everyone.

Following this statement, Minister Wilczek answered questions from journalists. He repeated that, apart from choosing a new director, he had made no final decisions. As far as Director Pietrzak is concerned, Minister Wilczek said, this man was involved with the previous concept, therefore he cannot take part in work on a completely different one.

[Question] The purchase of this license for FSO, and not some other license, was considered correct before, so why the change now?

[Wilczek] The new government now has to seek new, better solutions. I talked to the Fiat representatives so that they would give us time to reexamine the concept of expanding the automotive industry. They told me that in fact that Fiat did suggest to Poland several years ago that it should increase the production of one type of small-capacity car.

[Question] How have the management and work force of FSO reacted to these decisions?

[Wilczek] I hope they will understand my arguments in the end... And one of my arguments is that we should produce a lot of cars and do so cheaply, so that a citizen can afford a car. We must respect the license money and distribute it among the entire automotive industry, increase tire production, and modernize the production of synthetic materials, so that the automotive industry may develop in accordance with the needs of the country and society.

Authorities Refuse Passport to Pacifist

LD1012132288 Hamburg DPA in German
1222 GMT 10 Dec 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw (DPA)—The Polish authorities have refused pacifist Jacek Czaputowicz permission to leave the country to take part in talks with Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker in Bonn on the occasion of the anniversary of the UN Human Rights Declaration. As Czaputowicz announced in Warsaw on Saturday, he was told on Thursday at the passport office that this occasion was not sufficiently important for him to be granted a passport. Interventions from the German side have had no effect. Czaputowicz originally wanted to travel to Bonn on Friday. [passage omitted]

Municipal Elections Declared Void After Protest

LD0912231888 Warsaw PAP in English
2030 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 9—After examining new protests, the Supreme Court declared elections to people's councils in two electoral districts—municipal one in in Jastarnia and local one in the Krzyki district of Wroclaw null and void.

In this connection, the Council of State ordered to repeat elections in these districts on January 15, 1989.

Medvedev Book on Stalin Published

LD1012153188 Warsaw PAP in English
1500 GMT 10 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec . 10—The Polish trade unions publishing institute has brought out Roy Medvedev's famous book "Stalin's Men."

In the preface to the Polish edition of the work its author writes that five years have already passed since the book was published in Great Britain and that his archives have been enriched with new documents and reports over that time. This made it possible for him to supplement the edition in Poland with important and interesting information which had not been included in the previous editions. Also, he took account of critical remarks presented in numerous reviews while preparing the book for publication in Poland.

Many books like the one I present to the Polish reader must be created over years, Medvedev states. One has to collect trifle [preceding word as received] information and reports possible to acquire only in Moscow, in fact, and they are ever more difficult to get as we distance ourselves from the Stalin era.

Ending the preface, Medvedev voices hope that he will also get such reports from Poland.

Telex, Telegraphic Control Provision Lifted

LD0912214088 Warsaw PAP in English
1620 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 9—The minister of communications has lifted one of the provisions of the telecommunications' regulations which allowed for control of information conveyed by telephone, telex or by telegraph and according to which telecommunication services were conditioned by that control.

The minister's decision came before the matter of the provision's compatibility with the Constitution was presented, at the initiative of the chairman of the Supreme Administration Court NSA, to the constitutional tribunal.

In the opinion of the NSA chairman, the provision that "a telecommunication service cannot be rendered in case when the contents of conveyed information is at variance with the law, public order or principles of social coexistence," is in fact an authorization for a constant control of the contents of information conveyed through the means of telecommunication equipment.

The NSA chairman stressed that the freedom of speech was expressed in the Constitution in an unconditional way which means that any limitations of that freedom may be introduced only by a law concordant with the Constitution. The 1984 Law on Communications does not provide for any departures from the constitutional principle of the protection of the privacy of correspondence.

The public prosecutor general shared similar doubts. However, in the opinion of the General Prosecutor's Office, the security of the state and keeping state secrets, and in drastic cases, the principles of social coexistence, especially in case of the use of coarse language, may justify the introduction of appropriate limitation to the law on communications but this must be clearly proclaimed by the law itself.

Radio, TV Rental Fees To Rise 1 Jan 1989

LD0912230188 Warsaw PAP in English
2002 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 9—Radio and TV sets owners will have to pay higher subscription fees as of January 1, 1989.

The monthly fee for TV sets is to go up by 100 zloties from 350 to 450 zloties. Radio owners will pay 63 zloties per month.

The necessary increase of subscription fees was dictated by the growing costs of the production of TV and radio programmes, changes in the hard currency exchange rates as well as the changed structure of beamed programmes of home production, including films. Theatre plays and variety shows, and the extended time of emission of the national TV programme by 4 percent and of the radio programme by 2.3 percent. There are 10 million 845 thousand radio subscribers and 9 million 868 thousands TV subscribers in Poland.

Jaruzelski Receives ZSP Delegation

LD1012000488 Warsaw PAP in English
2222 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 9—PUWP CC first secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski received today heads of the main boards of the Polish Students' Union (ZSP) to discuss problems of the country, the academic community and young intellectuals, including changes now under way in universities and academies.

Jaruzelski expressed his respect for the activists' work.

Transcript of Urban's 13 Dec Press Conference

AU1612144188 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
14 Dec 88 pp 1, 5

[Transcript of press conference by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 13 December]

[Text] Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban met with Polish and foreign journalists for another press conference on 13 December. Here is the transcript.

Urban: Disturbing events occurred in Poland in the first half of December. In connection with Miners' Day, there was a procession of people from a church in Jastrzebie, led by an aggressive group. In order to safeguard the procession against militia intervention, they even used children, of whom there were many present. They voiced slogans like "There is no freedom without Solidarity," "Down with the pseudo-trade unions," "Down with communism," and "Death to the Bolsheviks." Thus, in order to achieve trade union pluralism, they would like to kill off the present trade union movement and achieve a monopoly. Pluralism has a false context here. It is also notable that, on the one hand, they express enthusiasm for Soviet perestroyka, but on the other hand they wish death to the Bolsheviks and to the party which is implementing perestroyka.

There was also an aggressive procession last Sunday in Gdansk, from St Brygida's Church, as usual. There were banners saying "Solidarity is fighting" and "Down with communism." These people proceeded to St. Mary's Basilica, from which they emerged throwing stones and broke 22 windows in the militia station and the building next door. They also threw stones at militia vehicles and damaged a few. They insulted the militia by calling them the Gestapo. The militia did not use force.

St. Brygida's Church in Gdansk is a conspicuous and uninhibited organizational center of "Solidarity." In it, leaders working under the "Solidarity" trade mark receive Western politicians and journalists, political church services are held there, and political speeches are made which adopt the form of sermons. Processions constantly emerge from this center into the streets of the city. The participants throw stones, set fire to communal property, and demolish public facilities.

For the first time, some Western agencies, followed by Radio Free Europe and the BBC, have expressed disapproval of this street politics. UPI said that "Solidarity" circles admitted that they do not know who is organizing the processions. The BBC reported, and I quote: "The 'Solidarity' spokesman in Gdansk said that the militia station was attacked by ordinary young people who merely wanted to have a good time, therefore this incident has nothing to do with the procession."

I note with satisfaction that Janusz Onyszkiewicz told the Western press that former "Solidarity" leaders dissociate themselves from these excesses and slogans, regarding them as harmful and damaging to "Solidarity."

We have carefully monitored Lech Walesa's visit to Paris. His statements reflect the intentions of accord, and our intentions are the same. Lech Walesa spoke about the positive changes in Poland and the need for compromise solutions. "Something good is happening in Poland," he told the press. "Our system is heading in the right direction, but too slowly. This process must be accelerated. The point is to introduce pluralism. This should be a pluralism for everyone; however, it must be a pluralism without anarchy." Walesa said that he wants to act in compliance with the law, by legal methods. In Poland, he said, there should be no strikes, because strikes are a final weapon, and the ricochet affects society. The 'roundtable' is very necessary, and those whom it represents are ready for compromise." In a French TV interview, he said: "Sometimes I make accusations against our premier. He is the head of my government, and I would like relations between us to improve." In an interview for LE FIGARO, he expressed support for peaceful methods, and said that progress in freedom, including trade union freedom, must be gradual, taking current conditions into account. "Freedom needs a lesson," he said.

Really, I could sign my name to everything Lech Walesa said in Paris.

Here we have a situation where a spokesman for accord belonging to the same political center, namely St. Brygida's Church, and subscribing to the same name of "Solidarity," goes to Paris, at the same time that upstarts with stones in their hands take to the streets and voice slogans that are totally divergent from the present political line adopted by Lech Walesa and expressed in the palaces of Paris. Therefore, those stones also strike what Lech Walesa is representing right now.

However, pluralism between contradictory elements that all form part of "Solidarity" poses a serious danger of unrest in the future, because it reminds us of 1981. One fears a repetition of that year, when "Solidarity" leaders immediately declared their attitude of moderation and desire for accord, but some of their supporters carried out acts of destruction that damaged the economy and led to general confrontation. After all, in 1981 the "Solidarity" leaders gave assurances that they did not want strikes, political squabbling, and disputes, and that all this was happening against their wishes. Later, however, they said that they have to follow the general trends emerging in their organization, otherwise they would lose their supporters and their authority. Then they placed themselves at the head of confrontational trends. One must fear a repetition of this state of affairs, even though Walesa says that the forces he represents have learned and understood a lot since then. In any case, the numerous aggressive and illegal incidents in Poland, two of which I have mentioned, are the spoon for the potion that is poisoning the attitude of accord and compromise.

Such a duality of conduct, and its attendant danger, is emerging before our very eyes.

The government is calling on all state structures to eliminate hotbeds of unrest and confrontation. The struggle for accord is the requirement of today.

One more matter. We see that French journalists are making illegal trips to Poland. There have been several journalists and two entire television teams, from different French TV stations, who pretended to be tourists and teachers. They gave false details about their occupations and place of work in their visa applications. Their television equipment was smuggled into Poland in a truck loaded with gifts, after which these people filmed reports and wrote articles, and boasted about how they had tricked the Polish authorities. Poland is open to Western journalists. However, conduct like this has two purposes; first, to create a hostile atmosphere against Poland, and second, to make one's stay in Poland more exciting. In the future, we will react energetically to cases like this and, concerning journalists who come to Poland undercover, we will not listen to appeals from politicians to grant them visas and let them come here again.

That is what I wanted to say. I would like it to be conveyed to France.

Boguslaw Turek, UPI: In Paris, Walesa invited Andrey Sakharov to visit Poland. Would the Polish authorities make him feel welcome if he came?

Urban: I know nothing about this. I do not know if he would want to talk to the Polish authorities, and if the Polish authorities—in fact, which Polish authorities—would want to talk to him. But I consider such a visit interesting.

Boguslaw Turek: One more question. Does the Polish Government intend to reduce arms expenditures next year?

Urban: The communique from the meeting of the National Defense Committee has said that we are carrying out structural changes to our Armed Forces, which corresponds to what Mikhail Gorbachev presented at the United Nations. This will permit acceptable economizing measures that are advantageous to the Polish economy, yet do not diminish our defense capability.

Barbara Drozdz, ZYCIE WARSZAWY: I would like more information on this subject. Why do the military reductions presented by Mikhail Gorbachev not include Poland?

Urban: Poland is not situated at a point of contact with the West, in other words in an area where a reduction of military potential is particularly important in order to prevent a conflict. Poland does not neighbor any Western country. Out of all the socialist countries where Soviet forces are stationed, Poland has the least number of such forces. The Soviet forces in Poland also have a different structure, a defensive one. The changes announced by Mikhail Gorbachev apply to Poland in the sense that the Soviet forces in Poland will also adopt a stronger defensive nature, in accordance with the announcement.

We received the Soviet decisions, which had been discussed with us beforehand, with satisfaction and approval. We expect them to accelerate a start on and encourage the success of future European talks on reducing armed forces and conventional weapons. As a country with the second largest conventional forces in the Warsaw Pact, Poland is highly interested in this. I wish to say that the decisions reached by the National Defense Committee at its 21 November session, expressing our own Polish path of changes and searches, coincide with the Soviet unilateral move to limit its military potential.

Although the planned reductions do not include the Soviet forces in Poland, they are connected with our security policy. Without disturbing the existing strategic balance, they signify a start of the implementation of the Jaruzelski Plan vis-a-vis three Warsaw Pact countries, a unilateral implementation for the time being. The Soviet moves conform to the plan's basic idea of creating a zone of reduced armaments in central Europe and transforming military potentials into purely defensive ones.

The Soviet moves may also facilitate our efforts to implement the part of the plan that deals with the development of military doctrines toward "defense sufficiency." For these decisions give the West concrete proof (which it has often demanded) that the USSR really wants to carry out far-reaching changes in the military-technical aspects of Soviet military doctrine, toward an elimination of offensive capability.

Although the size of the Soviet conventional potential provides NATO with its chief justification to maintain its tactical weapons in Europe, the USSR's decisions on reducing this potential also increase the chances of future talks on reducing and then eliminating these weapons, as called for in the Jaruzelski Plan.

Matti Hoviseppa, KANSAN UUTISET: I have two questions. First, is there any chance that the "roundtable" talks will start before the end of the year?

Urban: It is difficult to say. I do not think so, because it is not long until the end of the year, and in Poland this time of year is traditionally spent on celebrating.

The Miodowicz-Walesa TV debate and Walesa's Paris statements have moved the cause of national accord forward and increased the chances of holding the "roundtable." As I said in Rome, a start to the "roundtable" now requires new political stimuli. Some of these stimuli have already appeared, and I mentioned them. I expect that the Central Committee plenum that is due to start soon will also provide new stimuli for accord.

I know that the trade unions that belong to the OPZZ are ready to take part in the "roundtable" and discuss the shape of the future pluralistic trade union movement in Poland, and that in order to find ways of achieving a consensus, they are also ready to hold such frank talks with activists who do not belong to the legal trade union movement, including former "Solidarity" activists.

Matti Hoviseppa, KANSAN UUTISET: How many inefficient enterprises has the government closed so far, and when will the list of such enterprises be published?

Urban: So far, the government has closed 11 smaller enterprises—the shipyard, the Siechnice steelworks, and several divisions of various plants in Silesia. I do not rule out the fact that the government might make further decisions to close down enterprises before the end of the year, which is when the government's special powers expire.

The number of enterprises with a poor economic situation is between 100 and 200, depending on what one means by "poor." I have in mind larger enterprises. However, most of them will be subject to liquidation, mergers, or internal alterations. There will be no malicious administrative decisions. These changes are permitted under the government's special powers, which are expiring.

Jacek Wedrowski, INTERPRESS: Has the Gdansk Regional Court reached a verdict in the Lenin shipyard's appeal against the decision to close it?

Urban: Yes. On 8 December, the court admitted that it did not have the power to examine the appeal against this decision lodged by the Workers Council of the Lenin shipyard. As far as I know, this admission, together with an explanation, will be conveyed in writing in a few days time. All I know is that the law on the special government powers on the basis of which the enterprises have been closed excludes court involvement in disputes.

Jacek Wedrowski: One more question. Several Western agencies have said that the national bank has stopped giving credits to the Lenin shipyard. Do you know anything about this?

Urban: A plan to close down the shipyard is due to be worked out soon. It will set out the costs involved in closing down the yard, including the cost of the unfinished vessels. On this basis, the bank will resume financial support.

Stefan Dietrich, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG: Gorbachev's proposals mean that not only the Soviet Union will have lower military expenditures, but also the three other countries he mentioned. Will the remaining Warsaw Pact countries spend less, and if so, how much less?

Urban: No, because Soviet forces are not stationed in other countries at the expense of these countries, but at the expense of the Soviet Union. At least, that is the situation in Poland ,and presumably in the other countries as well.

Andrew Tarnowski, REUTER: A moment ago, you said that the official trade unions are ready to consider a model for a new trade union movement in Poland. This seems very similar to the condition "Solidarity" is imposing in order to sit down at the "roundtable." Have you anything to say in this matter? Perhaps I am wrong.

Urban: My opinion is similar to yours. I think it is time to sit down at the "roundtable."

Wieslaw Wesolowski, TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA: What retail price increases has the government planned for 1989?

Urban: General price increases of 19.2 percent are envisaged next year. They include alcohol, tobacco, and, of course, fuels. Excluding alcohol and tobacco, the price increases amount to 16.6 percent. It is estimated that food will increase by about 15 percent, including meat. It is planned to abolish meat rationing, but that means that the price of meat will increase. We want to give every citizen the choice of either using ration coupons to buy meat, or being paid the financial value of these coupons. That means that those who still want to use ration coupons may do so, and those who do not will receive money. We will simply repurchase ration coupons. Of course, the 15 percent food price increase is greater than the meat price increase that will be compensated for by the repurchasing of ration coupons.

Alcohol is to increase by 18 percent, coke and coal by 15 percent, tobacco products by 18 percent, and services by 26.2 percent. The price of electricity will increase considerably, and will lead to price increases in other commodities. The economic purpose of this is clear. The purpose is to adapt energy consumption to possibilities, reduce the danger of a shortage of electricity, and permit production costs to be calculated accurately, which is impossible if the price of electricity is kept at an artificially low level. This makes it difficult to implement the economic reform.

In accordance with OPZZ postulates, price increases will be monitored every month, so that every citizen can see how much the cost of living has increased in relation to the previous month.

What I have said is the government's plan, which forms part of the Central Annual Plan. This plan is presently being discussed with the OPZZ and will be discussed by Sejm commissions. Well, if our plan gains approval, that is how the price increases will look. But right now nothing is final, it is just the government's plan.

Andrew Tarnowski, REUTER: You said that the official trade unions are ready to consider trade union pluralism and discuss it among themselves, as well as with other elements. Does that mean that the government is ready to discuss trade union pluralism at the "roundtable"? What is the future of the trade unions?

Urban: We have always said that we are ready to consider a future model for the trade union movement in Poland, and that this model will be a pluralistic one in accordance with the Trade Union Act passed by the Sejm in 1982. The "roundtable's" chief purpose will be to discuss the preconditions for this new trade union movement model in Poland, and of course discuss what this model will be. The words of Lech Walesa that I quoted at the beginning of this conference and his television remarks contain much serious evidence that the former "Solidarity" leader of 1980 and 1981 perceives the need to give this model a different shape than it had then. Today, he talks of safeguarding the trade union movement against anarchy, strikes, and so on. This of course brings our points of view together.

Monika Olejnik, Polish Radio: Will the government accept the demands of the health service employees? When will the case be settled?

Urban: Talks are continuing. The next round of talks is on Friday. And when these talks are difficult, as they usually are when the subject is wages, I do not like to interfere, otherwise what will we bring to the negotiating table?

Renate Marsch, DPA: Referring to Mr Tarnowski's question, do you mean to say that the government might abandon the principle of one trade union in each enterprise? This was one of "Solidarity's" preconditions for taking part in the "roundtable".

Urban: We wish to discuss these matters at the "roundtable." The chief negotiator will not be the government, but the trade unions. What I said is merely a general framework of possibilities of seeking a consensus. However, this hall with three rectangular tables cannot in any way replace the other hall containing a round table.

John Daniszewski, AP: Do you consider it possible that "Solidarity" will be legalized in 1989 according to principles that are yet to be established? And how do you view the seventh anniversary of martial law?

Urban: I think I have answered your first question several times today. As far as the martial law anniversary is concerned, we think martial law was a necessary evil that turned out to be effective. Today's progress in accord would have been impossible without the introduction of martial law on 13 December 1981. It is this progress that has paved the way to the reforms that General Jaruzelski announced in his speech on 13 December 1981. During martial law, we kept emphasizing that it would be lifted and that it is a necessary safeguard for realistic and democratic reforms in Poland. The reforms have undergone changing fortunes. Sometimes they were too slow or not radical enough, we were late in implementing some of them, and we had to perform self-criticism as a result. Nevertheless, the path of reforms that was blocked in 1981 by general antagonism and cleared on 13 December 1981 is the path that was chosen in the end. The reforms have been and are being implemented, and are becoming faster and more radical. So what we said in 1981 was not just casting words to the wind.

Stefan Dietrich, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG: In order to avoid a misunderstanding, I would like to go back to your answer to my last question. Can you affirm that Poland is not paying to maintain the Soviet forces stationed here?

Urban: I can. It is the Soviet Union that is paying. The Soviet Union reimburses us the expenses incurred in maintaining these forces. In a nutshell, they are stationed at the Soviet Union's expense.

Andrew Tarnowski: You said that the "roundtable" may discuss the future shape of the trade union movement in Poland, a pluralistic shape. However, Rakowski said in his interview for DIE WELT that even political parties are possible in Poland, but never "Solidarity." I am somewhat confused, and do not know who to listen to.

Urban: Rakowski meant the "Solidarity" that existed in 1981 and led to the ruin of the Polish economy; the "Solidarity" that led to the necessity of martial law.

Renate Marsch: Why did Mr Czaputowicz not obtain a passport in order to take part in talks with German President Von Weizsaecker? Why did Walesa obtain a passport and not Czaputowicz?

Urban: He was told that he would receive a decision on 19 December. However, I wish to make it clear that Czaputowicz is conducting activity that is aimed against Poland's defense capability.

Jeanne Dobija, NATIONAL PUBLIC REVUE: Rakowski used to say that "Solidarity" can never appear in the Polish trade union landscape until Poland attains economic stability. What kind of economic changes have occurred in Poland to make the government pay lip service to the possibility of a re-emergence of "Solidarity?"

Urban: No, I did not mention such a possibility. I have said all the time that the future model of the trade union movement requires discussion. A minimum economic stability is also required. When the economic situation improves, the presence of different kinds of trade unions in the same factory will not be as dangerous for the economy as it is now.

Joanna Radzyner, ORF: I wonder if the party has told you that it intends to move the congress forward to 1990, just like in several other East European countries?

Urban: I know nothing about this.

Renate Marsch, DPA: I am sorry, but I want to get back to Czaputowicz. I do not see what use a passport will be to him on 19 December when he was meant to be in Bonn yesterday. Is it not an insult to Von Weizsaecker that he was refused a passport? Von Weizsaecker was looking forward to meeting him.

Urban: On 5 December, Czaputowicz applied for a passport to go to the FRG, tendering an invitation he had received from the West German Amnesty International. He was told he would receive a decision on 19 December. That is that. If one considers a sovereign decision by the Polish authorities vis-a-vis a Polish citizen to be an insult to the FRG president, to whom we accord the highest respect, then proper international relations would be impossible.

Janusz Grochowski, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI: I would like to return to a question I asked last week. Could you repeat the Polish authorities' stance toward the proclamation of the Palestinian state?

Urban: It was presented in the 16 November statement by the Foreign Ministry press spokesman.

From a political point of view, this statement recognizes the Palestinian parliament's sovereign proclamation of a Palestinian state. I regard the Palestinian National Council decision as constructive. I believe it suits the Palestinian people's aspirations and encourages peace and the convening of a Middle East conference under the auspices of the United Nations.

From a legal-international point of view, our statement is an announcement of cooperation with the Palestinian state after it has been set up, in other words, it is also a recognition of these authorities.

Poland's stance on this issue will be presented during the Palestinian debate at the 43rd UN General Assembly session in Geneva, where the Polish delegation will be headed by Jan Majewski, vice minister of foreign affairs.

Yousef Mah'd, WAFA: Does that mean that the Polish Government recognizes the proclamation of the Palestinian state?

Urban: You will get a copy of what I said, which is a summary of what the Foreign Ministry press spokesman said.

Stefan Dietrich, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG: Have you any information on this year's inflation curve, in other words, the amount of money in circulation that is not backed by goods?

Urban: I have no accurate information. There is none. One can only make an assessment after the new year. However, the sum exceeds Zl trillion.

Jeanne Dobija, NATIONAL PUBLIC REVUE: Rakowski regards environmental protection as one of his priorities. Could you tell us what qualifications Koziol possesses in this regard, because as far as I know his main experience is with banking.

Urban: Your information is wrong, madam. As deputy premier, Minister Koziol was involved in agriculture and environmental protection. He was Poland's negotiator during talks with the governments of our neighboring countries on the subject of a convention on environmental protection at the point where the GDR, Poland, and Czechoslovakia meet. He supervised the work of the minister of environmental protection in the previous government, and has become minister of environmental protection under this government.

John Daniszewski, AP: If next year's price increases are to amount to about 19 percent, what relation does this bear to next year's inflation? What about wages? Is any compensation for these increases foreseen?

Urban: Suitable wage rises are foreseen. As for inflation, we had better talk about it at the end of next year.

Emma Appelbaum, THE ECONOMIST: I have seen a few tables depicting the tax paid by private firms and private individuals for conducting economic activity. Could you tell us what the highest tax rate will be, and what the tax progression will be?

Urban: No, not yet. That means I will probably never be able to provide details of the tax system, which is eternally complicated. These matters have still not been determined. However, all the tables that are in the planning stage right now are temporary, because the very act on economic activity says that after a certain time, tax regulations will be the same for each economic sector. That means that various tax rates will be paid depending on what one produces, how many people one employs, and how much profit one makes. Tax will not differ depending on whether one is in the private, state, cooperative, or communal sector.

Boguslaw Turek, UPI: On Saturday, the leadership of the Polish Green Party was established in Krakow. Do the authorities intend to cooperate with it in Polish environmental protection?

Urban: We do not consider it a legal party. I have received a document. Pardon me but, I would like to read it. It is the Green Party draft statute. "The party's supreme program is to protect the world's environment, protect man's right to live in peace, and safeguard everyone's right to live in peace." That was point one.

There are various other points, for example: "The party conducts economic activity in order to cover the expenses of its activity and pay for the planting of trees and bushes. The party's activity will begin as of the time of its registration by the court, in areas granted by state administrative bodies. The party acts in accordance with the PPR legal order, and recognizes established alliances and pacts. The party foresees no interruptions in its work, nor signs of negative activity (...) It is the duty of party members to plant a tree. Notification that a tree or bush has been planted, the only condition for membership, should be sent to...," and here the address is given. "Every Polish citizen may approach the party with his problems in order to solve them, and may count on legal and financial assistance within the party's possibilities."

I think there is a misunderstanding here. A very useful draft decree about planting trees and bushes has been called a draft Green Party statute, in accordance with what is popular. Although it contains political aspects, the entire program really boils down to the planting of trees and bushes, and this is a very useful program for an association that may certainly come into existence.

In other words, what we have here is a case of abusing the concept of a party.

John Daniszewski, AP: Excuse me, but one more question on "Solidarity." You said that you do not rule out the legalization of "Solidarity" next year. At least, that is what I thought you meant. In that case, are there any new political affairs, events, and impulses that you wish to convey to us? Are there any changes?

Urban: Look, I have said quite a lot on this subject today. I do not rule out anything. In fact, there are few things that I rule out. I do not rule out world war III next year. However, I used a more precise expression than, "I do not rule out." I said we expect the "roundtable" to take place, and that this "roundtable" should discuss the entire structure of Poland's political and economic life and the political and economic reforms. The problem of the trade union movement—which according to the Trade Union Act is a pluralistic one, with the proviso that this pluralism is suspended until the necessary conditions arise—should be regarded as a part of the entire structure of life, and in this context we would like it to be discussed at the "roundtable."

Various forces interested in the "Solidarity" problem, forces with quite varying views, will come to the "roundtable." However, this variety of views contains quite specific views that indicate a consensus, which may be a good omen that this difficult problem will be solved. Finally, I said that it seems that in order for this "roundtable" to take place, certain political impulses are still required, and I said that we expect that on our part, these impulses will be provided at the Central Committee plenum or as a result of the plenum, which should begin in a few days' time. That is a summary of what I have said today.

Goods Exchange Protocol Signed With Bulgaria

AU0712205588 Sofia BTA in English
2017 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, December 7 (BTA correspondent)—A Bulgaro-Polish protocol on goods exchange and payments for 1989 was signed here today. In conformity with the long-term agreement for the period 1986-1990, goods exchange is to amount to 789 million roubles. Bulgaria is to export to Poland electronic articles, metal processing machines, electric trucks and hoists, refrigerator units, cosmetic products and some kinds of agricultural products. Lathes, ship engines, mining machinery and raw materials such as sulphur, etc., are to be imported from Poland.

CSSR Planning Officials Hold Talks

LD1012204188 Warsaw PAP in English
1728 GMT 10 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 10—During talks with a delegation of the Czechoslovak State Planning Commission that wound up at the office of the Government Planning Commission here today the two sides agreed upon a programme of work on coordination of national socio-economic plans between the two countries for the years 1991-1995.

The meeting summed up the to-date cooperation with Czechoslovakia. Poland's trade turnover should exceed 16 billion roubles in the years 1986-1990. It also laid down basic development directions of cooperation for the years 1991-1995.

Plans also provide for a development of a direct cooperation of enterprises and for new agreements on coproduction and production specialization.

1989 Trade Protocol With SFRY Signed

LD1012185188 Warsaw PAP in English
1732 GMT 10 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 10—Poland's Minister for Foreign Economic Cooperation Dominik Jastrzebski received here today Deputy Federal Secretary for Economic Relations with Abroad of Yugoslavia Djordje Hadzi-Mihajlovic, now on a visit to this country in connection with talks on trade exchange between Poland and Yugoslavia in 1989.

Under the trading protocol signed today Polish-Yugoslav trade will exceed 900 million U.S. dollars in 1989. A considerable growth of Poland's imports will include equipment for food economy and marketables.

Malinowski Leads Sejm Delegation to Iran

Assesses Visit as 'Productive'

LD1312000288 Warsaw PAP in English
2200 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 12—While assessing the concluded visit of a Sejm delegation to Iran, Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski told newsmen today that the sides had held a productive political dialogue.

Malinowski said that a visit by Iranian Premier Hoseyn Musavi could be expected in January next year and voiced an opinion that the latter's talks with Premier Rakowski would create new impulses in all domains of bilateral cooperation.

Poland can expand economic cooperation not only in the traditional domains such as power industry, mining, foodstuffs and chemical industries, but also in the reconstruction of cities and monuments and many others. We are also interested in supplies of oil from Iran, Malinowski said.

The Sejm speaker who headed the Sejm delegation to Turkey and Iran said that Poland was regarded there as an attractive partner with whom it is worth pursuing cooperation on stable and long-term principles.

Press Remarks in Tehran

AU1512134788 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
13 Dec 88 p 6

[PAP report: "Sejm Delegation's Visit to Iran"]

[Excerpts] Tehran—Sunday was the third day of the official visit to Tehran by PPR Sejm Marshal R. Malinowski and the delegation accompanying him. [passage omitted]

Assessing the completed Iranian visit, R. Malinowski told journalists on 12 December that fruitful political dialogue had been conducted. He said that one can expect a visit by Iranian Premier Musavi in January, and expressed the view that his talks with Premier Rakowski will provide new impulses in every sphere of mutual cooperation.

Having finished the war with Iraq, Iran is proceeding to reconstruct and alter its economic policy, adopting the food complex as a priority. Poland may expand economic cooperation not only in traditional areas like the energy, extracting, food, and chemical industries, but also by helping to rebuild cities and monuments, among other things.

We are also interested in supplies of crude oil from Iran, said R. Malinowski.

The marshal, who has headed Sejm delegation visits to Turkey and Iran, said that Poland is regarded as an attractive partner here, a partner with whom it is worth basing cooperation on stable and future-oriented principles.

These visits have also involved history. Some 1,860 Poles are buried in Tehran. As part of the army of General Anders, they found their way to Tehran during this army's complex road to Poland [from Siberia]. We also laid flowers at the graves of Poles who took part in insurrections and later found themselves in Persia. They have gone down in the history of both countries.

PLO's 'Arafat Arrives, Meets Ceausescu

AU1612192488 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1845 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] At the invitation of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, Comrade Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, arrived last night on a visit to our country. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu met and had two rounds of talks with Comrade Yasir 'Arafat this morning and later in the afternoon.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu warmly welcomed Comrade Yasir 'Arafat's first visit to our country after the proclamation of the independent Palestinian state, Palestine. At the same time, the party secretary general pointed out the particular importance of the establishment of the independent Palestinian state and assessed that this event creates new and favorable conditions for correctly solving the Middle East problems.

Comrade Yasir 'Arafat expressed warmest thanks to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu for the recognition extended to the state of Palestine and for his consistent support and emphasized that, throughout their struggle, the Palestinian people enjoyed the permanent assistance of the Romanian people and of our party-state leader, to whom he expresses his profound gratitude for the efforts made to promote the Palestinian people's cause and politically resolve the problems in that region.

During the meeting, the sides examined latest developments in connection with the Palestinian problem and the Middle East situation. The PLO Executive Committee chairman briefed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu on the PLO's steps to settle the Middle East problem and establish a lasting peace in that area.

During the talk, the sides pointed out that the Palestinian National Council's decision on the proclamation of the independent Palestinian state, Palestine, as well as the political statement adopted on that occasion express the desire to act for a just solution of the Middle East problems, in the spirit and on the basis of UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, including recognition of the existence of the State of Israel concurrently with recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and to the creation of their own independent state.

The RCP secretary general and the PLO Executive Committee chairman assessed that greater opportunities have emerged in the newly created circumstances, which should be capitalized on by making steady efforts to convene a UN-sponsored international conference, with the participation of all interested sides, including the Palestinian state, as well as Israel and the Security Council permanent members.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Yasir 'Arafat expressed the determination to strengthen and develop, in the new circumstances, the comprehensive relations between Romania and the independent Palestinian state and between the RCP and the PLO, to the benefit of both peoples and of the cause of peace, understanding, and cooperation in the world.

The meeting and talks proceeded in an atmosphere of warm friendship and mutual understanding. [Bucharest AGERPRES in English at 2034 GMT on 16 December carries a report on the 16 December Bucharest talks between Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu and PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat, which is identical to the above Bucharest Domestic item, but adds the following:

"The interview was attended by Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, and Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

"Also present were Akram Haniyah and Sulayman al-Sharfah, advisers to the PLO Executive Committee chairman, and Ismail Ahmad Muhammad, PLO deputy representative in Bucharest."]

Holds Press Conference

AU1612184388 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1814 GMT 16 Dec 88

["Yasir 'Arafat's Statement on Meeting Romanian Press Representatives"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 16/12/1988—In an interview with Romanian press representatives, in Bucharest, on Friday, Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, assessed in answering journalists' questions, that the shift in the U.S. position and the U.S. secretary of state's statement on the contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organization was a very important aspect, the more so as it broke the wall imposed by the previous American administration's veto. Today, in Tunis, he went on, starts the first American-Palestinian official meeting. We think it is a very important step in actuating the efforts toward the convening of the international conference of peace. As a matter of fact, a very difficult stage is coming and we have to continue the efforts on this line.

Yasir 'Arafat then said: President Nicolae Ceausescu was the first statesman who pointed to the necessity of setting up the Palestinian state, even in an historical context in which many people and political leaders opposed such an idea. We see today that everybody speaks unanimously about the peace conference, about an independent Palestinian state. At the recent session in Geneva of the UN General Assembly the idea of calling a peace conference was sustained by 104 votes. This is one of the numerous examples that prove how wide is the perspective of President Nicolae Ceausescu's action, as regards not only Romania's development but also other matters as well.

In the same sequence of ideas, I would like to stress the multitude of President Nicolae Ceausescu's demarches and efforts in support of the Palestinian people's struggle.

In my behalf, in behalf of the Palestinian leadership, of the whole Palestinian people, I address Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu most sincere thanks and my full gratitude for all the support he gives us, for everything he does for the Palestinian people's benefit.

Chairman Yasir 'Arafat pointed out that his visit in Romania took place in an historic moment for the Palestinian people, after the recent decisions endorsed by the Palestine National Council in Algiers and after the announcement of the proclamation of the Palestinian state. It also takes place, the speaker went on, after the address I made in Geneva, at the UN General Assembly, and the subsequent developments related to this matter, including the recent declaration of the American administration referrring to the establishment of a direct dialogue with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

All these, Yasir 'Arafat mentioned, were themes approached during my very warm meeting with President Nicolae Ceausescu today. We also analyzed the situation in the occupied territories, the evolution of the revolt of the Palestinian people there.

I want to stress, the guest said, that President Nicolae Ceausescu was the first statesman to emphasize—for the first time in the world—the necessity of calling an international conference of peace for the settlement of the situation in the Middle East and its issues, including the Palestine issue.

The Palestinian people assesses highly this friendly stand adopted by President Nicolae Ceausescu, by Romania's leadership, by the whole Romanian people. I therefore think that today's meeting is very important both on a Palestinian plane and on the plane of the relations with Romania, opening up wide prospects to the future demarches for the settlement of the Palestinian situation.

Answering another question, Yasir 'Arafat said: I want to mention that the revolt of the population in the occupied territories is part and parcel of the Palestine Liberation Organization's activity. The mass organizations in the interior, the forces that actually participate in combat are part of a unified leadership, all of them part and parcel of the PLO. No doubt, the revolt will continue. I want to reiterate on this occasion as well, that the Palestinian people's revolt will continue, wave after wave, until the liquidation of the occupation, until the setting up of the Palestinian state.

Speeches to 28-30 November Joint Plenum

AU0512205788 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 30 November on pages 2 through 5, and on 1 December on pages 4 and 5 carries 11 reports ranging between 800 and 1,800 words on speeches made by top party leaders, who are not full PEC members, at the 28-30 November Bucharest "Joint Session of the RCP Central Committee Plenum, of Democratic Bodies, and of Mass and Public Organizations." All the speeches, which total about 20,000 words, deal in general terms with various facets of Romania's socioeconomic life and party activity, with particular emphasis on RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu's "leading role" in all fields; the speakers admit the existence of failures in their specific spheres of activity, assume full responsibility for them, pledge to eliminate negative states of affairs, and enthusiastically endorse the theses and guidelines included in Ceausescu's "brilliant" report to the joint meeting.

Speeches by the following PEC candidate members are reported:

Constantin Radu, first secretary of Bucharest Municipality RCP Committee and general mayor of Bucharest, mainly talks about socioeconomic achievements and concerns in Bucharest, saying that "the commodity production for this year was fulfilled with a surplus of more than 3 billion lei" and that "outstanding results" were scored in implementing the program on the "systematization and modernization of our capital city."

Stefan Andrei, deputy prime minister of the government refers—"on behalf of all foreign trade workers"—to Romania's international trade relations in 1989, "which have continued to develop" in spite of various domestic shortcomings and "worldwide phenomena of crisis, stagnation, and regression and financial-currency instability." Emphasizing the "great prospects opened up to our international trade and cooperation" by understandings reached during Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu's visits abroad, he says that "we will act to develop economic ties with CEMA members countries, to implement CEMA's long-term cooperation programs, to intensify Romania's participation in production- sharing and specialization, to expand economic cooperation with other socialist countries, and to also develop economic relations with the developing countries and all states, regardless of their social and political system."

Iosif Szasz, first secretary of the Caras-Severin RCP Committee and one of the most prominent Hungarian minority officials in Romania, after briefly referring to his county's affairs, points out the "atmosphere of intensive patriotic ardor generated by the anniversary of the 1 December 1918 Great Union" of Transylvania with the rest of the country and adds, without further elaboration, that "one of the greatest achievements of the party-state policy was the revolutionary resolution of the nationality problem in our fatherland." He effusively praises Ceausescu's "basic" thesis according to which "socialism is being built differently from one country to another, without single models or set patterns," and says that "nobody from outside is entitled to tell us what is right for the development of our socialist society."

Ion Stoian, RCP Central Committee secretary, referring to Romania's international policy, says that the "RCP gives priority to developing relations with socialist countries," as it is "our firm belief that communism represents mankind's future." He emphasizes that "the strengthening of economic and political cooperation among socialist countries excludes the copying and creation of organizational bodies and structures and of mutual cooperation regulations after the model of those existing in the developed capitalist countries." He adds that, "given the increasingly diversified arsenal of bourgeois propaganda," the RCP should strive to better "disseminate abroad Socialist Romania's achievements, policies, and positions."

Cornel Pacoste, deputy prime minister of the government, talking about agricultural tasks and concerns, mentions, among other achievements, the fact that "Romania occupies first place in Europe with regard to the irrigated agricultural area, which will reach 4.3 million hectares at the end of 1989." After admitting that "not all parameters of the 1988 plan were fulfilled," he says that the 1989 plan envisages "a 5-5.5 percent agricultural production increase" and that the country's long-term programs aim at achieving production of "at least 45 million tonnes of grain by 1995."

Ana Muresan, chairman of the National Women's Council, deals with the role and contribution of women in Romanian socialist society and profusely thanks Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu for the "conditions created for proper mother and child care" and for their "constant concern with strengthening the family and shaping and raising the new generation."

Speeches by various Central Committee members with ministerial positions are also reported.

Ion M. Nicolae, minister of chemical and petrochemical industry, says that, although "in the first 10 months of this year the chemical and petrochemical production was 10 billion lei and the exports $310 million higher than last year," the itemized production was not fulfilled for certain ranges of products. He expresses hope that "by commissionning new planned capacities next year," his sector will contribute to "reducing imports and improving the country's hard currency balance."

Petre Fluture, minister of electric power, says that in 1988 the "electric power generation in coal-based thermal power stations has increased by 500 MW," but adds that, "due to failure to carry out proper repair work on schedule and ensure adequate supplies of coal, spare parts, and lubricants," the planned production levels were "not achieved in the Rovinari, Giurgiu, Drobeta-Turnu Severin, Doicesti, and Turceni thermal power stations," the Oradea, Isalnita, and Minitia thermal power stations faced "difficulties in securing proper coal supplies," and only "25 out of the planned 34 new energy units were commissioned," which has had a "negative impact on the overall electric power generation." On behalf of all workers in his sectors, the speaker pledges to "generally resolve all lags in the energy field by 1990."

Nicolae Vaidescu, minister of electrical engineering, talks about "general achievements in his sector," without giving any figures or details, as well as about "various shortcomings," which have led to "certain unsatisfactory results," that he pledges to eliminate "in accordance with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's guidelines and recommendations."

SCINTEIA also reports on a speech by Ioan Toma, member of the RCP Central Committee and first secretary of the Union of Communist Youth, who deals with tasks incumbent upon the young generation in "unflinchingly implementing the country's socioeconomic development projects," with emphasis on the "great role" played by "youth brigades" on the country's "240 youth worksites."

Ionescu Interviewed on Environmental Protection

AU0112165988 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 30 Nov 88 p 3

[Interview with Constantin Ionescu, deputy chairman of the "National Environmental Protection Committee in Romania," by Valentin Stoev: "We Are Part of Nature and To Protect It Is Our Concern"—in Bucharest, date not given]

[Excerpts] [Stoev] In various parts of the world different countries have different obligations toward mother nature. In some parts of the world these obligations are taken seriously, in other parts people continue to be in debt toward nature—and to put it succinctly—the picture is so multifaceted that not every useful experience can be thoroughly examined. Ecological difficulties distinguish themselves by the fact that in nearly all cases they are resolved on a common basis—by neighboring countries through joint efforts—and examples of this exist in our part of the world as well.

Because of the aforementioned reasons, in our interview with Constantin Ionescu, deputy chairman of the National Environmental Protection Committee in Romania, we omitted the discussion on the so-called "basic principles" of ecology, or the so-called global issues, and we promptly tackled the specific aspects of the question—namely the successes, problems, tasks, and prospects of environmental protection for our northern neighbor.

[Ionescu] Environmental protection in our country is a matter of state policy. The National Committee is working within the framework of Law No 8 of 1974 and Law No. 9 of 1983, as well as according to the current laws on water resources, soil, forests, and so forth. The committee coordinates all the activities in connection with the implementation of the tasks which our country's leadership has assigned to the environmental protection organs, including the 41 existing, regional ecological commissions. As a matter of fact, we follow the ecological problems and influence them from their very beginning in five areas: water, air, soil, birds, animals, and man's health. No type of production is ever commissioned in Romania, unless it conforms with ecological norms. As early as before the construction of a plant, the National Committee submits the necessary requirements, following which preliminary ecological tests are made and the plant is put into operation only under these conditions. Naturally, difficulties may emerge after the commissioning of a project, and things may not turn out exactly as it has been envisaged—in other words, we follow the "ecological development" of an enterprise throughout its existence. We submit the respective requirements, the deadlines, and the ecological parameters—and even if only one of the conditions is not fulfilled we prevent the plant from being commissioned, we impose fines, and submit cases of more serious violations to the legal prosecution. Whenever this becomes necessary, we submit a proposal that the plant in question should be closed down. Such was the case of the sugar factory in Chitila, near Bucharest, which was closed down, since modernization did not improve the situation.

We have regional services for the observation of air, water, soil, cattle breeding, and populated areas. A total of 4,000 air purifying stations and 10,500 installations for extracting the air from gas emanations exist in various production plants. Our party and state leaders are briefed daily by the committee on the environmental situation, on investigations and findings. [passage omitted]

[Stoev] In coping with its ecological difficulties, each country, to a certain extent, assists other countries, and its neighbors, in particular, in solving their own ecological problems. This concerns the air, as well as the water, which in our own geographical area includes the Danube and the Black Sea. It also involves European-wide testing of so-called acid rain, and so forth. Bilateral, and even multilateral agreements exist on some of these issues, as we know. What is Romania's role in them?

[Ionescu] According to forestry experts, the Carpathian Mountains in our country are so far unaffected by acid rain. In certain areas the forests seem to dry out and we are trying to find a means of halting this process, but as you know, this is a worldwide phenomenon. As to the Danube, we have adopted serious measures which cannot be immediately implemented, since the river is passing through several states. As far as the pollution of the Danube is concerned, Romania has to deal with a fait accompli. Nevertheless, concerning the quality of Danube waters which are flowing into the Black Sea, there is no reason for concern, in my opinion. In any case, the waters which are flowing into the Black Sea from our territory are of better quality than those which are coming to us. [passage omitted]

Kucan Says 'Right of Secession' in Constitution

LD1712172288 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1514 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, December 17 (TANJUG)—In writing the new federal constitution, it must be clear that Yugoslavia certainly also concerns Slovenes, who took part in its making and joined it of their own free will, Slovenian party leader Milan Kucan has said in an article published in the Belgrade weekly KOMUNIST.

Entering Yugoslavia, a federation of six republics and two autonomous provinces, was an expression of Slovenian sovereignty, the sovereign use of the Slovenes' right to self-determination, which includes also the right of secession, and even joining other nations, Kucan underscored in KOMUNIST, the organ of the League of Communists of Yugosalvia (LCY).

Kucan writes that the existing Constitution has not become outdated regarding the regulations which are the basis for relations within the federation, relations between the Yugoslav nations and nationalities and their national states, underscoring that he is aware that there are different authoritative opinions on the issue.

Kucan underscored that his compatriots, the citizens of Yugosalvia's most industrialized republic, are opposed to the efficiency, power, authority and prestige of the common state bypassing the republics' responsibilities and being realized through centralism, by subordination and outvoting, stating that Yugosalvia can be preserved only as a democratic state.

The joint engagement on the realization of a democratic, efficient and developed socialism which will be more open towards the world is, in his opinion, of vital importance to Yugoslavia's integrity.

Criticizing both the centralization and the confederative weakening of the country by the strengthening of republic statisms, Kucan assessed that the key issue for the future of Yugoslavia is a change of the relationship between politics and the economy.

The future of Yugoslavia lies in a developmental concept of democratic, humane, successful and open socialist society of sovereign people and nations, the Slovene party leader underscored. A project for a quick and successful development of every nation and nationality is a precondition for the survival of Yugoslavia and at the same time for a strong Yugoslavia, Kucan said.

Yugoslavs will not longer accept life in freedom and poverty, since they are aware that they are willing and able to be both free and rich, Kucan concluded in his article in the Yugosalv party organ KOMUNIST.

Assembly Declares Bujan Resolution Invalid

LD1312184888 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1709 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 13 (TANJUG)—The Bujan Resolution of Kosovo partizans carried during the Second World War is a constitutionally and legally invalid act, because it contradicts the decisions from the second session of "AVNOJ" (Yugoslavia's wartime parliament), as was assessed today by the Federal Chamber of the bicameral Assembly of Yugoslavia in Belgrade.

The resolution—adopted at a conference of the national Liberation Committee for Kosovo and Methoija (now the Autonomous Province of Kosovo in the composition of Yugoslavia's largest Republic of Serbia) between 31 December 1943 and 2 January 1944 in the village of Bujan (territory of Albania)—deals with the unification of Kosovo with Albania and with the rights of ethnic Albanians in Yugoslav territories to self-determination and secession.

As a constitutionally and legally invalid act, the Bujan Resolution could not and cannot have any legal consequences on Yugoslavia, and for this reason it is nil—MPs concluded in accepting a report and stands of the Yugoslav Government on this matter.

It was underscored at the Yugoslav parliament session that the members of all nations and national ties of Kosovo had already at a meeting of the regional parliament in July 1945 unanimously decided that this territory would remain an integral part of Yugoslavia, that is, of Yugoslavia's Republic of Serbia. It was confirmed at the 1945 meeting that the Bujan Resolution had not expressed the realistic interests and true feelings of the Kosovo population—as was again pointed out also at the parliament session today.

Yugoslav MPs appraised that it was a constitutional obligation of the political organs of Kosovo to undertake measures to eliminate from the legal system all the solutions possibly related to the Bujan conference, and to abolish the material and moral rights which have been acquired on this basis by individuals.

Suvar Urges Adopting Capitalist Norms

LD1712171088 Zagreb Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Dr Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, is on a visit to Sibenik today. This morning he visited the Boris Kidric composite organisation of associated labor of the aluminum industry and afterwards talked with representatives of the sociopolitical aktiv of Sibenik Municipality. Zoran Bujas reports:

What happened to us almost 50 years after the victory of the socialist revolution is serious and ominous, but it does not hinder all the changes we have been striving for lately. There is no—and there must be no—departure from the established reforms, however little seem to get into the heads of some people. This was stressed, among other things, by Stipe Suvar in a meeting this afternoon with representatives of Sibenik Municipality's sociopolitical life. We are embarking upon the solutions today which will ensure that our workers will behave as if they were capitalists themselves. On the world market, we must immediately adopt the norms of this behavior; otherwise, we will eventually lose every contact with the world regardless of all our efforts to rely upon our own strengths. In such a situation, not even the efforts of producers to take on the responsibility for their own development would mean anything. In this connection, the intention of all reforms is that producers will maximally manage the funds gained through their production, with considerably less interference from both the state and party in the economic spheres. However, this does not mean that we are renouncing the theses of socialist self-management and equally the reforms, stressed Dr Suvar. [passage omitted]

Central Committee Document on Economic Reforms

LD1712192088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1233 GMT 15 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, 15 (TANJUG)—Our socialist self-managing society must be based on commodity production and participation in the division of labor in the world. We must incorporate into our socialist self-managing system all modern elements likely to motivate the working people for efficient and productive work. This implies necessary conditions in which individuals will be able to show initiative and exploit all available potentials. This is stressed in the text of the LCY's Standpoints on and Task in Implementing the Economic Reform adopted at the 19th LCY Central Committee session. The economic reform, as well as the part of overall reforms which includes political reform and the reform of the LCY, must be urgently adopted and carried out. These reforms will provide a basis for necessary and deep social transformations in the country, and are imperative if we are to extricate ourselves from the crisis for our future progress, the LCY Central Committee stresses in the document whose full text now follows: [transmission interrupted, TANJUG parts 2 and 3 not received]

Such a character of our society presupposes the creation of conditions for the full initiative of every individual and associated workers, and also for the exploitation of all the existing potential. Hence all forms of ownership, various independently chosen forms of the organization of production and the economy as a whole can contribute to the overall social development and welfare of every individual and his family. The economic stimulus to the appreciation of different interests, the market evaluation of social capital, labor, know-how, and innovative and entrepreneurial abilities are the best criteria of the success of every individual and every enterprise. Only in this way can everyone's contribution be realistically assessed. Only this can be a sound basis for necessary socialist solidarity.

Objections to such an orientation—it takes us back to capitalism, it means restriction of or departure from self-management—have no foundation. Through this criticism and alleged fear, one overlooks the fact that social ownership is in hands of the workers who manage it and who dispose of the fruits of their labor, reaffirming their social position and the decisive influence on society and guaranteeing the socialist character of further development. The orientation toward a market economy not only does not take us back to capitalism, but it also arms the self-managing producer with the modern forms of organization, decision-making, and management, enabling him to become a capable producer who can compete on an equal footing with others in the world market. [transmission interrupted, TANJUG part 5 not received]

1. The LCY Central Committee stresses that the present-day development of socialist self-management and our society as a whole require radical transformations in all spheres of the country's economic and social life with the economic reform being just a small part of this major task.

Our aim is an efficient economy, i.e. an open and organized economy based on market operations, economic efficiency, and capacity to compete. This can be achieved through the independence of economic firms, developing workers' initiative, and bold entrepreneurs prepared to take risks. All this would provide an opportunity for socialist self-management to show its full potentials and capacity to mobilize and create new qualities and values in economic activity and development. This, at the same time, calls for a new, modern democratic and innovative society with an appropriate political system based on the pluralism of self-managing interests and self-managing political pluralism and on the state with a rule of law, with the transformed sociopolitical communities to meet the requirements of the market-oriented economy and socialist self-management, and with appropriate economic methods of stimulating the development of an efficient economy.

The LC must become the ideopolitical force behind and initiator of changes in society and must, at the same time, invest efforts to ensure that the working class and the working people in the organizations and institutions of the system are in the forefront of these changes. This calls for and will facilitate a transformation of the LC and will rid it from ideological delusions and dogmas and help it to adapt its activities to make them conducive to changes.

We must strive toward an economic system capable of opening up vigorous and dynamic processes of material, cultural, and social changes to ensure social progress and a free and comprehensive development of the man and his happier future.

The reforms will be so deep, complex, and far-reaching that—objectively speaking—we must expect ideological, dogmatic, statutory, and many other similar forms of resistance, conservative minds, and inertia on the part of the advocates of the existing relations and interests.

The LCY Central Committee stresses that all progressive, socialist, and pro-reform forces, i.e. the forces of work, know-how and creativity, must be rallied in a common front. The LC itself must abandon its own monopoly in the political and economic life as a guarantee for success in carrying out social changes.

2. The LCY Central Committee stresses that the prime task of the economic reform, in the context of entire social reform, is to provide a new quality in economic and social development. Economically independent subjects should be the main agents of this process which will be carried out under the conditions of opening up the Yugoslav economy to modern economic trends and processes in the world economy. This is the key prerequisite for an increase in economic efficiency and stimulation of socioeconomic development. This is at the same time tied to further improvement in socialist self-management, strengthening of the self-management position and motivation of workers within the social reproduction, and to effective deregulation in economic affairs. This is also the way to achieve the equality of nations and nationalities, the constitutional position and responsibility of republics and provinces, the cohesion, unity, and independence of our country based on the federal system and to strengthen our position and reputation in the world. At the same time, these are the arguments with which to reject criticism, objections, and resistance to the reform, originating not only from dogmatic and bureaucratic positions, but also from misinformation, ignorance, and misunderstanding. [transmission interrupted, TANJUG parts 9-13 not received]

Economic reform requires substantial decentralization and debureaucratization of social relations, reduction of normativeness, elimination of the direct interference of the state in economic development, formal and informal decision-making by the state organs in the development investments, and especially consistent implementation of its new role in the establishment of equal and stable conditions for economic operations for all factors on the single Yugoslav market. The impending deregulation of the economic system and of the conditions of economic operations as a whole create the conditions for the state apparatus social overheads in the country as a whole to be reduced in this way. This is why the LCY Central Committee makes it incumbent on the Communists in the appropriate organs of the federation to work hard so that a program of comprehensive reorganization of the state, in keeping with its new functions, can be tabled before and passed in the SFRY Assembly.

The organs of the federation must be trained to pursue an efficient development and economic policy, especially in the monetary and fiscal spheres, in the payment and budget balance sheet areas, in securing a position of equality for economic factors in the single market and its efficient functioning, and in guiding the socioeconomic development, in keeping with the constitutional powers of the federation.

In the new conditions, the status of the municipalities and their relations with the economy must be altered, substantially transferring the bulk of their activity from direct meddling in the organization, business operations, and development of economic factors to establishing conditions for the independent and unhampered development of economic and social activities, encouraging the setting up of new organizations and providing links between the existing and new organizations in order to make better use of available potential and bring about faster and more comprehensive development. The activity of the municipalities must be channeled into the establishment of conditions for the development of housing and local services, improving the land and using it rationally, improving the human environment and other activities connected with bettering living and working conditions in their respective areas.

The state organs of all sociopolitical communities must be professionally capable of fulfilling competently their functions and tasks in the new conditions.

The communists in the assemblies of the sociopolitical communities and in the organs and organizations of state administration must work hard to reduce public expenditure's share of the revenue, abolish all para-fiscal and extrabudgetary sources and forms of such expenditure, and at the same time, review all the rights flowing from the resources of the sociopolitical communites, ranging from the municipalities up to the federation. All these must be functions of modernization and the considerably more efficient implementation of the tasks of the state at its present stage of development.

The Policy of Restructuring Must Start With the Market

5. [number as received] The economic reform requires a kind of development strategy which will aim at faster and more efficient structural changes in the economy and in social activities in keeping with the demands of the market, world competition, and present-day technological progress.

The restructuring of the economy on this basis is a continuous process which will unfold in two directions: 1) Changes and adaptations of the existing economic structure which have arisen as a result of inadequate attention being paid to the market development criteria and; 2) The establishment of a new economic structure in accordance with the demands of present-day domestic and world markets.

In making structural changes to the economy on a market economy basis, an adequate role is given to the development of agriculture, the comprehensive development of small businesses, tourism, transportation, housing construction, the services industry, and informatics. A change in the structure of the economy is an essential condition for an increase in economic efficiency and more intensively incorporating our economy into the international division of labor. This can be done only in conditions of an open economy and of economic autonomy for the basic economic factors and their having responsibility for their own business and development decisions. Economic factors must be the main factors in international economic developments, and we must be directly interested in acting efficiently in the international market and capable of doing so. All the solutions in the system (foreign currency, foreign trade, customs, and the taxation system, as well as other areas) must move in this direction.

The LCY Central Committee believes that development and economic policy measures must be used to provide an incentive for programs which contribute to the restructuring and expansion of exports, greater use of scientific and technological inventions, activation of internal reserves, and all other potentials at our disposal which are based on the economic links between the economic factors in our country and the world economy, especially Europe.

Substantial changes have to be made in the system of social planning and a new role for social planning ensured, in keeping with the constitutional amendments.

The appropriate federal bodies must encourage faster development of economically underdeveloped socialist republics and the socialist autonomous provinces and take adequate measures within the framework of the current economic policy to create conditions for the economies of these parts of the SFRY to adapt more easily to the new economic operation conditions. Adequate development and economic policy measures must be taken, proceeding from the principle of responsibility for the development of the SFRY as a whole, especially to encourage the structural adaptation of the economies of the inadequately developed socialist republics and of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, which at this moment represents the biggest problem.

In keeping with the basic requirements of economic reform, the changes in the system which encourage the development of inadequately developed republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo have to be accelerated, especially in the sense that the criteria for determining the degree of development and encouraging the mechanism to establish more successful links between them and the developed parts of the national economy must be spelled out more accurately, in that direct influence by economic factors must become the most important factor of their accelerated development. The development of inadequately developed socialist republics and Kosovo can thus be based on the overall socialist development and can be directed of economic laws and a market economy.

By the same token, and in keeping with the requirements of the economic reform to incorporate our country more efficiently into the international division of labor and into modern economic operations, a transformation and reorganization has to be carried out of the chambers of economy, business associations, communities and other economic associations. The same applies to the reorganization of the whole foreign trade network in the country and abroad, proceeding from the principle of willingness, economic interests, the requirements of the economy and our society, and the market economy method of economic operations.

Reform of Social Activities in Market Economy Conditions

6. Social and economic reform also require the reform of social activities; reform has to be used to open them to powerful market forces and to economic logic in order to increase the quality and efficiency of their operations and secure stable development in keeping with the present-day requirements for the development of the production forces of the country and the necessary requirements of our working people and citizens and within the scope of our realistic material possibilities. In order to do so, we must step up organized efforts to identify the socioeconomic status and role of social activities during the reform and against the background of the changes in the system for financing these activities.

It is a requirement of the reform that the programs, work, and organizations' methods of social activities and their self-management-interest communities, as well as the overall financing of joint expenditure, should be subject to review to rationalize this sphere of social reproduction, ensure a more harmonious development of social activities, and ease the burden on the economy. This can be attained, primarily, by creating the conditions through a direct confrontation of interests and by establishing direct relations between the economy and social activities.

In so doing we must proceed from the role of social activities, in the function of social reproduction, and from their contribution to the creation of new values, increased labor productivity, and improvement in the quality of life, and we must create the conditions whereby the working people in social activities have a socioeconomic status equal to that of the working people in the economy.

Social activities are manifested in various forms and contents, and their specific nature calls for different treatment. A segment of these activities can learn from the very extensive world experience of the basic insurance principles which will secure the resources required to cover the current requirements within these social activities and ensure their stable and rational development. A segment of social activities can function directly or indirectly on market principles in keeping with constitutional changes. This will contribute to rationalization and reorganization of social activities and their adaptation to actual social development requirements on a realistic and economically justified basis.

7. In the process of the dynamic implementation of the economic reform, it is vital to make it easier for the economy to adapt to reform conditions by a consistent reorganization of the state and social activities and a considerable reduction in overhead costs in economic organizations themselves. This is the framework of unburdening the economy and its economic-financial consolidation, which must be vigorously implemented.

The economic-financial consolidation requires a realistic market evaluation of the property belonging to enterprises, getting rid of all forms of bogus accounts in the payment balances of the economy and banks, and creating conditions which would enable the economy to effectively tackle the problem of working assets. Of considerable importance is the financial consolidation of the Yugoslav National Bank and seeking solutions for the accumulated debt in the form of exchange rate differences and measures for the financial consolidation of commercial banks which can successfully develop in market conditions. Unsuccessful organizations of associated labor should be liquidated, while problems are solved in connection with employing the unemployed, making possible speedier and simpler ways to estabish new enterprises.

The reform initiatives must encourage the maximum use of available resources and efforts to discover new ways of relying upon our own creative forces, in keeping with specific conditions in some organizations of associated labor and in some fields.

The implementation of the economic reform requires opening up the process of cadre renewal—not only in management structures, but also in all the work places where business, economic, and development policies are implemented—and on the basis of new programs of production and development, the introduction of new technologies, the application of marketing forces, and the like. The economic reform and changes in the economic structure call for a new role for cadres in the economy and society in which they are capable of understanding the essence of these changes, are qualified for decisive business undertakings, and are prepared to take risks. The LC must strive for the complete independence of organizations of associated labor from the point of view of the enrollment of workers, the election of leaders, and the establishment of teams, as well as for full accountability for possible cadre failures.

It is necessary, without further delay, to take steps to set up such a market infrastructure as would ensure the functioning of the market economy in all its forms. (Apart from the commodities stock exchange and other modern institutions in the field of the trade of commodities and services, it is essential to set up a market of stocks and bonds as well as other forms of market confrontation with money supply and demand). Interest communities for employment should be transformed into institutions which would take on an active role in monitoring the needs of retraining and the employment of unemployed workers in keeping with market criteria.

The Central Committee stresses that one of the essential conditions for the successful implementation of the economic reform is the establishment and consistent realization of the active social policy as an important factor in the development of production forces and the social security of people and citizens. To this end, it is essential to establish and implement adequate social programs in all organizations of associated labor and sociopolitical communities.

The LC must strive to create the conditions and a political climate in which workers would be in a position to ensure the improvement of their social and financial condition by their work, in keeping with the distribution according to the results of their labor. Within the framework of the program of social policy, it is essential to consistently solve the problem of the financial security and the reemployment of workers who find themselves without work as a result of the technological surplus. For this reason, it is essential to provide adequate funds in organizations of associated labor and sociopolitical communities.

The members, organizations, and the leaderships of the LC must contribute, through their appropriate participation, to ensuring that the social policy programs of sociopolitical communities above all protect the financial position of those who are not working—children, students, the unemployed, pensioners with the lowest incomes, and others. In calculating social welfare entitlements it is essential to take into account a household's income.

It is essential to create conditions in which the burden of social hardships is distributed more justly, in keeping with the realistic economic strength of individual groups of the population. Those with higher incomes should contribute more toward satisfying common and general social needs and solving social problems, without calling into question the economic motivation to work, the entrepreneurial spirit, interest in economizing, and the possibility for development.

8. The Central Committee notes that the political decisions of the 13th congress and the stands of the LCY conference are not implemented regarding the need for curbing the high rate of inflation and other very unfavorable tendencies in the economy and society, and also

for a decisive change in the direction of overcoming the economic crisis. None of the essential goals and tasks of the economic and development policy are being implemented in 1988, apart from favorable results in the sphere of tourism and transportation, and in the field of exports. The economic crisis is deepening due to the high growth of inflation, a reduction in production, the further weakening of the reproduction capability of the economy, a drop in the standard of living, and a threatened existence of a large part of working people and citizens. Dissatisfaction among working people and citizens with a failure to solve the accumulated economic and social problems has assumed serious proportions.

The LCY calls on the Communists in the SFRY Assembly and the assemblies of republics and provinces once again to take the initiative for the urgent, all-embracing and critical assessment and the establishment of accountability of individuals and all the competent executive organs and other subjects, in keeping with their role in the system, for their failure to take adequate measures and activities to achieve the goals and tasks of the economic and development policy in 1988, especially in the sphere of inflation and prices, and in accordance with the 17th LCY Central Committee session.

The Central Committee, in its work on the establishment and adoption of the economic policy for 1989, is striving to find such solutions and to produce such mechanisms which would ensure the creation of necessary conditions next year for the realization of the economic reform and the establishment and efficient and vigorous realization of the anti-inflation policy. This should ensure halting the further growth and the beginning of the curbing of inflation, an increase in production and exports, the unburdening of the economy, the halting of the further drop in the standard of living and its growth, the integration of all forms of consumption with the results achieved on the market, and finally, the suppression of its unfavorable balance in financing and maintaining the corresponding restrictive monetary policy, reducing demand and encouraging supply. In order to achieve this, it is very important to free the initiative and economic interests of workers in organizations of associated labor, and on this basis to secure the growth of labor productivity, efficient business transactions, and more rational use of social resources and available funds.

The economic policy next year must create the conditions in which the integrated market will begin to function, which signifies market formation of the dinar rate of exchange and the rates of interest, market check of production, and price liberalization.

Capital—social as well as private, cooperation, foreign, and the like—and the work force as well must be subject to market valorization, because this is the condition for an efficient use of these production factors and for a realistic insight into the cost and results of economic operations. The conditions must be created next year for the formation of new market subjects and liberalization of imports and rational customs protection ensured. Radical deregulation has to be carried out, that is to say state intervention in economic developments at all level must be reduced to free initiative and entrepreneural spirit in associated labor and in our society.

The implementation of the key tasks of the economic and development policy must be based on the trust of our working people and citizens—which this policy must gain with its professional reliability and consistency, efficiency and coordination in its implementation by relying on business and self-management initiative and commitment—that the standard of living will improve where market-acknowledged productivity goes up, that it pays to save, that the market will be soundly supplied, and that freedom and independence in enterprise and in self-management decision-making will be considerably expanded.

The League of Communists and the Economic Reform

9. The Central Committee stresses that for the LC and for our entire society the implementation of economic reform is one of the priority political issues which is inevitably bound up with the changes in the role of the LC in our society as a whole and especially in the political system and concretely in the economy as well. Economic reform cannot be carried out in the old way in which the LC was operating. For this reason, the LC must rid itself of the direct decision-making in the economy at all levels of organization.

Proceeding from the role of the LCY in our society and the further process of the transformation of our society as a whole, the LC must create social and political conditions and tighten responsibility in its ranks and in our society as a whole for the implementation of economic reform, mainly:

—By working resolutely for the preparation of high quality and professionally feasible economic reform projects;
—By briefing the working class, the working people, and citizens on the objectives and substance of the changes in our society overall, in which respect the information media have very specific tasks;
—With clearly defined economic reform objectives and by working consistently for the introduction of responsibility by organs and individuals if the anticipated effects of the economic policy are not fulfilled;
—By extensively mobilizing our working people and citizens on the implementation of the economic reform; and
—By decisively unmasking ideologically and by breaking all resistance to the reform which realistically one has to expect from the supporters of the dogmatic-bureaucratic concept of socialism who are unable to accept commodity production in socialism, from various members of privileged strata, and even from the workers themselves who are not accustomed to the checking of their work and market results.

The reform can be carried out only in alliance with all socialist creative reform forces and by linking the interests of all those who are for the reform and who favor it and have clear and realistic ideas about the substance and effects of the pace of reforming. For this reason, the broadest possible social consensus is needed so that all those active in implementing the reform will accept responsibility for doing so.

The LCY Central Committee charges its members, the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, and the LC republic and provincial committees to use their initiative to influence the preparation of the programs, projects, and tasks in all circumstances relating to implementing economic reform. In carrying out this task it is very important for the LC to develop new methods of work, mainly by utilizing all the capable people on the projected tasks along with greater use of science. In addition, the most creative cadres must be included in the formulation of new development and economic policy and in devising the most adequate solutions in our economic system.

The communists who work in the LC organs and organizations and in the institutions of the political system, delegate assemblies, and their political executive organs, as well as in associated labor, will work resolutely for the consistent implementation of the economic reform and for social consensus on the key points of the changes in the economic system, development policy, economic policy, and in the political system. In this sense, ideopolitical action is required to suppress all forms of resistance to the reform nurtured by the forces of dogmatism and bureacracy, forces which do not grasp and do not understand contemporary developments, as well as the forces which are fighting to preserve the present distribution relations and the privileged positions in the material and political spheres.

The LCY Central Committee and the Presidiums of the LCY Central Committee and the LC republic and provincial committees have a special responsibility for guiding and stepping up political activities in organizations of associated labor, in the municipalities, republics, and provinces concerning the consistent implementation in practice of the new systemic solutions and changes required by the reform solutions.

The LC members and leaderships are committed to work thoughtfully in the basic and other LC organizations, in organizations of associated labor, in local communities, in municipalities republics, and provinces to encourage and guide overall social activity on the implementation of the objectives and tasks of the economic reform and the single platform adopted at this session.

In the preparation and implementation of economic reform, special responsibility falls on the SAWP, the Federation of Trade Unions, the Federation of Socialist Youth, the War Veterans Federation, and other sociopolitical organizations as well. Communists in these organizations must see to it that concrete programs for the implementation of the economic reform at all levels are laid down and carried out.

The LCY Central Committee makes it incumbent on the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee and on the LC republic and provincial comittees to help through their activity so that at all levels of social organization all the working people and citizens will be mobilized and the activity of all organized socialist forces in implementing the economic reform will be well coordinated. To this end, the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee must monitor the implementation of these stands and tasks and regularly inform the LCY Central Committee on the course of their implementation.

Titograd Municipal Committee Elects President

LD1612194588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1528 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] Titograd, 16 Dec (TANJUG)—Dragan Milonjic, Montenegro LC Central Committee Presidium member, has been elected Titograd Municipal LC Committee president.

At today's session of the Titograd Municipal Committee, 14 new members of the party forum of the LC organization of Montenegro's capital were also elected.

Borivoje Drakic, former president of the Titograd LC Municipal Committee resigned on 7 October at the meeting of students and workers in front of the republican assembly when he had been unable to establish a dialogue with the participants of that protest gathering. As a sign of solidarity with Drakic, the entire Titograd LC Municipal Committee Presidium also submitted its collective resignation at that time.

Sabac Municipality Officials Resign

LD1612214988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1909 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] Sabac, 16 Dec (TANJUG)—During the sessions of the organs and organizations of Sabac Municipality, resignations have been accepted by Radisav Teodorovic, president of the LC committee, of the secretary and 13 members of the municipal committee presidium, of Branislav Adamovic, president of the municipal council of the Federation of Trade Unions, and of Milovan Keserovic, president of the SAWP municipal conference. During the special session of all three chambers of the municipal assembly the delegates relieved of their duties Bogdan Radojcic, president of the municipal assembly, and Ivan Veselinovic, president of the Executive Council.

The acceptance of the resignations by top officials represents the finale of the stormy events in Sabac Municipality in the last month. Now it is the turn of working groups who must offer the best cadre solutions for the senior official and top leaderships, with the participation of the highest possible number of working people and citizens. The election of new senior officials has to be completed by the end of January next year.

In the LC municipal committee a working group has been set up headed by Ignjat Jankovic, deputy head of the board of management of Zorka chemical industry, which will discharge the Presidium duties until the new members and the president have been elected. Until the new Sabac municipal assembly president has been elected, this office will be discharged by Vice President Dr Borisav Djokic, while Vice President Momir Pavic will act as president of the Executive Council. Until the election of the new president of the SAWP municipal conference Presidium the office will be held by Secretary Zoran Zabaljac, while the duties of the president of the municipal council of the Federation of Trade Unions will be discharged by Secretary Petar Nikolic.

Serbian, Croatian Leaders Meet in Zagreb

AU1312191588 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Dec 88 p 1

[TANJUG report: "Open and Critical Dialogue About Socioeconomic Development"]

[Text] Zagreb, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—Within the framework of the established practice of holding working meetings between the leaders of the socialist republics and provinces, the leaders of the SR of Croatia and the SR of Serbia met in Zagreb today. As was announced tonight, the talks focused on the practice and activities concerning the current socioeconomic and political situation in both republics and the SFRY.

Considering the complex situation that is facing our socialist federal community in realizing the jointly-formulated tasks of the reform and the aims of the socialist self-managing development strategy, the participants in the discussion stressed the importance of consistency in and accountability for the efficient implementation of the constitutional reform on the basis of the 13th congress resolutions, the LCY Conference, and the LCY Central Committee conclusions.

With the same responsibility for the aims and needs of the Yugoslav community—and on the basis of every commune's experience—they held an open, constructive, and critical dialogue about the strategy of socioeconomic development and main and general problems as well as the solutions, ways, and possibilities of overcoming them. On this basis, they broached special problems which, within the strategy, appeared in every part of the country and which naturally require a sensible and patient solution.

The dialogue mainly centered on the important aspects of implementing the reforms founded on the crucial necessity to more rapidly, and with visible results, overcome the economic and social crisis and to create material and other preconditions for the further self-managing socialist development.

The process of implementing reforms requires a timely and qualitative execution of the obligations of all the system's institutions which must change and adapt concurrently with the needs and interests of the socioeconomic development on the democratic basis and under the conditions of economic laws and market principles of conducting business affairs. Instead of being restrictive, they must become a part of the initiative for adopting and implementing appropriate solutions and decisions in accordance with the jointly established aims.

Regarding the causes and consequences of the counterrevolution in Kosovo, the participants again stressed the importance and aims of comprehensive, persistent, and permanent Yugoslav action to eliminate and overcome them through the consistent application of the adopted stands and conclusions of the SFRY Assembly, the SFRY Presidency, and the LCY Central Committee. The proposed constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia are also an important condition for this. Ensuring legal and personal safety of all citizens in Kosovo and protecting their property was stated as one the important tasks of the united front of all socialist self-managing forces in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the SFRY. A Yugoslav action aimed at the prevention of nationalist and separatist forces in Kosovo is at the same time aimed against all the exponents and expressions of mutual inciting and destructive activity of other nationalisms which have emerged and undermine interethnic relations throughout the country.

A part of the dialogue was also devoted to the realization of the public information media's social role and tasks. In this context, it was stressed that the media can fulfill its responsible social role only through full and objective reporting.

It was jointly concluded that for the realization of the development drive of socialist self-managing Yugoslavia it is necessary to persist on an active and constructive contribution to the full realization of the essence of the adopted tenets on the economic and social reform. In this sense, one should change different views and behavior, and remove the obstacles which are slowing down or hinder the mobilization of the forces at all levels of the delegate and political association in society.

Only in this way can every subsequent development stage in our federal community consistently and more fully ensure the revolutionary and democratic achievements, their enrichment, brotherhood and unity, and the equality and togetherness of all the peoples and nationalities of the SFRY.

Loncar Heads Delegation to Brussels EC Meeting

AU1812144688 Belgrade Dommestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GM 18 Dec 88

[Text] Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, is expected to travel to Brussels today as the head of a Yugoslav Government delegation at the first formal and official dialogue between Yugoslavia and the EC. Loncar will hold talks with Karolos Papoulias, Greek foreign minister and president of the EC's Council. The talks will open on Tuesday. Talks between the EC committee for cooperation with Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav delegation will be held tomorrow.

Arrives in Brussels

LD1812170588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1618 GMT 18 Dec 88

[Text] Brussels, December 18 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar arrived in Brussels today to attend tomorrow's meeting of the Yugoslavia-EC cooperation council.

Loncar and EC foreign ministers will discuss this year's Yugoslav-EC trade and economic cooperation results.

The first-ever ministerial-level meeting within the Yugoslavia-EC political dialogue, will focus on East-West relations, the situation in the Mediterranean, especially the Middle East and activities of the movement of non-alignment.

The established Yugoslavia-EC political dialogue is assessed in the EC as a new step in promoting relations.

The cooperation council is expected to adopt a resolution on cooperation and a document specifying forms and methods of cooperation in science and technology.

Dizdarevic To Visit Romania 22-23 Dec

AU1612145988 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, will pay an official visit to Romania 22 and 23 December at the invitation of Nicolae Ceausescu, head of the Romanian state and party.

TANJUG says that this visit will continue the annual meetings at the highest level and confirm our constant interest in the development of good neighborly relations with Romania and the promotion of all aspects of bilateral cooperation whose level and volume are still below its possibilities. It is expected that special attention will be paid to economic cooperation.

The role, the position, and the rights of national minorities in the two countries, and the significance of this problem in the further positive development of cooperation, will also be discussed.

Among international problems, new favorable atmosphere in the world will be especially examined. Promotion of inter-Balkan cooperation will also be discussed.